

Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles



Edited by
Kate Buchanan and
Lucinda H.S. Dean
with Michael Penman

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**Edited by
Kate Buchanan and Lucinda H.S. Dean
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We would like to dedicate this volume to our respective long suffering families and partners, we owe you more than we can ever repay.

Abbreviations

AÉ	Archives de Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris)
APC England	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1542–1631</i> , (ed.) J.R. Dasent et al. (45 vols, London, 1890–1964)
Arbroath Liber	<i>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc</i> (Edinburgh, 1848)
BL	British Library
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records. A.D. 1272[–1509]</i> (47 vols, London, 1892–1965)
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office London</i> , (ed.) Joseph Bain et al. (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1881–1986)
Chron. Bower	Bower, Walter, <i>Scotichronicon</i> , (trans.) and (ed.) D.E.R. Watt et al. (9 vols, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1987–98)
Chron. Fordun	Johannis de Fordun, <i>Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> , (ed.) W.F. Skene (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1871–72): vol. i. Latin, vol. ii. English translation.
Chron. Wyntoun	Andrew of Wyntoun, <i>The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun</i> , (ed.) F.J. Amours (6 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1903–14)
CPL	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , (ed.) W.H. Bliss et al. (16 vols, London, 1893)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Printed under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records. A.D. 1232–1509</i> (53 vols, London, 1891–1916)
CSP England and Spain	<i>Calendar of Letters, Dispatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Vienna, Brussels, Simancas and elsewhere</i> , (ed.) G.A. Bergenroth et al. (13 vols, London, 1914)
CSP Foreign Edward	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1547–1553, Edward VI</i> , (ed.) William B. Turnbull (London, 1861)

<i>Diurnal of Occurents</i>	<i>A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the Death of King James the Fourth til the year MDLXXV</i> (Edinburgh, 1833)
DOST	<i>Dictionary of Old Scottish Tongue</i> , compiled by William Craigie et al. (12 vols, Oxford, 1931–2002)
<i>Dunfermline Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum de Dunfermelyn Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S.S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn</i> (Edinburgh, 1842)
ECA	Edinburgh City Archive
EETS	Early English Text Society
ELH	<i>English Literature History</i>
ER	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum</i> , (ed.) G. Burnett et al. (23 vols, Edinburgh, 1878–1908)
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedra, Conventiones, Literæ, et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ. Et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates etc.</i> , (ed.) Thomas Rhymer et al. (3rd edition, 10 vols, Hague, 1739–45)
GCA	Glasgow City Archive
IR	<i>Innes Review</i>
Leslie, <i>Historie</i>	John Leslie, <i>The Historie of Scotland wrytten first in latin by the most reuerrend and worthy Jhone Leslie, Bishop of Ross</i> , (trans.) James Dalrymple (1596) and (ed.) E.G. Cody and William Murison (2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1890)
Leslie, <i>History</i>	John Leslie, <i>The History of Scotland from the death of King James I in the year MCCCXXXVI to the year MDLXI</i> (Edinburgh, 1830)
<i>Melrose Liber</i>	<i>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros</i> (Edinburgh, 1837)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland (formerly the National Archives of Scotland)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Online Edition, 2004–14)
<i>Paisley Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii de Passelet</i> (Edinburgh, 1832)
Pitscottie, <i>Historie</i>	Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, <i>The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland: From the Slauchter of King James the First To the Ane thousande five hundrieth thrie scoir fyftein zeir</i> , (ed.) Æ.J.G. Mackay (2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1899)
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>

<i>RMS</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , (eds) J.M. Thomson and J.B. Paul (11 vols, Edinburgh, 1882–1914)
<i>RPCS, 3rd Series</i>	<i>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Third Series, 1661–91</i> (16 vols, Edinburgh, 1908–70)
<i>RPS</i>	<i>Records of the Parliament of Scotland</i> , (eds) G.H. MacIntosh, A.J. Mann and R.J. Tanner et al. (St Andrews, 2007–13), accessed online at http://www.rps.ac.uk
<i>RRS, vol. ii</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Scotorum, II, The Acts of William I</i> , (ed.) G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1971)
<i>RRS, vol. v</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Scotorum, V: The Acts of Robert I, 1305–29</i> , (ed.) A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1986)
<i>RRS, vol. vi</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Scotorum, VI, The Acts of David II</i> , (ed.) B. Webster (Edinburgh, 1982)
<i>RSS</i>	<i>Registrum Sectreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , (ed.) M. Livingstone (Edinburgh, 8 vols, 1908–82)
<i>SCA</i>	Scottish Catholic Archive
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Studies in Scottish Literature</i>
<i>StirCA</i>	Stirling Council Archives
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society
<i>TA</i>	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , (eds) Thomas Dickson and James Balfour Paul (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1877–1916)
<i>TNA</i>	National Archives, Kew
<i>WSRO</i>	West Sussex Record Office

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David Simpkin holds a PhD from the University of Hull (2007). His research is located at the intersection between medieval military history and gentry studies, producing a hybrid focus that can best be described as socio-military history. These are themes he has explored in a number of publications, most notably his monograph *The English Aristocracy at War, from the Welsh wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (2008) and as a Research Assistant on the AHRC project ‘The Soldier in Later Medieval England, 1369–1453’ (Hull/Reading, 2006–10). He is also a co-editor/co-author of: *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (2011); *England and Scotland at War, c. 1296–c. 1513* (2012); and *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (2013). He currently teaches at Birkenhead Sixth Form College.

Tom Turpie is the author of several articles on the cult of the saints in medieval Scotland, and a book on the subject entitled *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (2015). Originally from New Eltham in South London, Tom gained his PhD from the University of Edinburgh in 2011. Since completing his doctorate, Tom has taught medieval history at Edinburgh and Stirling, worked as a researcher on the *Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches* project (Stirling/St Andrews) and as Scottish History consultant on the Family Names UK project at the University of the West of England. His most recent post has been as a Guest Lecturer in History at the University of Stirling.

Representations of Authority

An Introduction

Kate Buchanan and Lucinda Dean

‘Symbolism changes the manifestation into an idea, the idea into an image and does so in such a manner that the idea remains forever effective and unreachable and, though spoken of in all languages, inexpressible’.

Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919)

What use is it to be given authority over men and lands if others do not know about it? Furthermore, what use is that authority if those who know about it do not respect it or recognise its jurisdiction? And what strategies and ‘language’ – written and spoken, visual and auditory, material, cultural and political – did those in authority throughout the medieval and early modern era use to project and make known their power? These questions have been crucial since regulations for governance entered society and are found at the core of this collection.

This volume was inspired and facilitated by two workshops and a conference held at the University of Stirling between June 2011 and August 2012 considering *Representations of Authority* – first in Scotland prior to 1603 and then broadening to Scotland and her European neighbours to 1714. These events in turn sprang from the convergence of two distinctly different doctoral projects on important issues regarding the manner in which authority is represented in Scotland – one assessing continuity and change in the state ceremonies of the Scottish monarchy and political community from the thirteenth century to c.1603, and the other considering lordly residences within the Angus region of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ In Scotland during the medieval and early modern era, as in comparable countries and principalities across Europe and the British Isles, unique and important

1 Lucinda H.S. Dean, ‘Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions: Continuity and Change in Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c.1214–c.1603’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2013); Katherine Buchanan, ‘The Social, Geographical, and Structural Environments of Minor Noble Residences in Angus, 1449–1542’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2014).

developments were taking place in the relationships between the people and manifestations of authority.² Whether it concerned crown, nobility, government, church or burgh, these individuals and groups all desired power and influence, and equally sought out the best ways to represent their real, or imagined, authority. Yet, for all that it is clear that demonstrating authority was a crucial facet of medieval and early modern life, our understanding of this is still in its relatively early stages. This volume provides an extension of the academic platform initiated by the Stirling workshops and conference, and brings together a range of interdisciplinary early-career and established academics to offer answers to some of the questions that remain and to pose new questions for future research.

The relative infancy of the Scottish historiography in comparison to England, and major European countries such as France, Italy and Spain, means that the building of the political narrative has formed the dominant core of discussions regarding how authority was gained, lost, used and abused in medieval and early modern Scotland.³ As this political narrative has become more firmly rooted, even if ever shifting and evolving as new research is

- 2 Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984), esp. chs. 2, 7–9; Joseph P. Canning, 'Introduction, Politics, Institutions and Ideas, c.1150–c.1450', in John Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 341–66; Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, 1993), esp. chs 3, 11–12; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: the Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), esp. chs 7–8; A. Rigaudière, 'The Theory and Practice of Government in Western Europe in the Fourteenth Century', in Michael Jones (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 6 – c.1300–c.1415* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 17–41; R.R. Davies ((ed.) Brendan Smith), *Lords and Lordship in the British Isles in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009); John Watts, *The Making of Politics: Europe, 1300–1500* (Cambridge, 2009), esp. chs 1–2.
- 3 There are a number of important series and texts that should be mentioned here, including: Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm* (Fifth edition, Edinburgh, 2014); Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London, 1983); Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: the Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1985); Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455* (Edinburgh, 1998); Norman H. Reid (ed.), *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249–1286* (Edinburgh, 1990); Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay and Michael Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998); Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (eds), *The Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, 2000); Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament* (East Linton, 2001); Michael Penman, *David II* (Edinburgh, 2004); Richard Oram (ed.), *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–1249* (Leiden, 2005); Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (eds), *Scottish Kingship 1306–1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall* (Edinburgh, 2008); Richard Oram, *Alexander II King of Scots 1214–1249* (Edinburgh, 2012). In addition, the ground breaking Stewart Kings series edited by Norman Macdougall which inspired so many others, see works by: Macdougall, Christine McGladdery (1990), Michael Brown (1994), Stephen I. Boardman (1996) and Jamie Cameron (1998). The *Edinburgh History Series* in its many reincarnations, including bastions of Scottish research such as Ranald Nicholson, Archibald A.M. Duncan, Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, Gordon Donaldson, Alexander Grant, Jenny Wormald and more recently Jane Dawson, Michael Brown, Richard Oram and Katie Stevenson. And last, but by no means least, the works published in conjunction with the RPS project: Keith Brown et al. (eds), *The History of the Scottish Parliament* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 2004–10).

undertaken, there has been a surge in academic research that has begun to peel back the complex layers surrounding the manner in which authority was established and displayed both in national and international arenas. For example, the work of Louise Fradenburg, Caroline Edington and Andrea Thomas on the court, household and literary culture of James IV and James V of Scotland has begun colouring many shades of understanding regarding these Renaissance monarchs.⁴ Such expositions of the arts and the 'theatre' of power in turn enrich the political studies of these reigns by Norman Macdougall and Jamie Cameron in demonstrating how Scottish monarchs promoted authority at home and abroad.⁵ By reaching back into the fifteenth century (and occasionally earlier) Roger Mason, Katie Stevenson and others have demonstrated how symbols of power, such as the imperial crown and the royal arms, were adopted and cultivated by the Scottish monarchs.⁶ Stevenson and Alasdair MacDonald have demonstrated the active promulgation (and contestation) of a lively chivalric culture, by crown and nobles alike.⁷ Mason has demonstrated that the expanding reach of humanist and Renaissance ideals beyond the clerical estate led to a vibrant intellectual strata, feeding into the arsenal of secular image projection.⁸ Studies in Scottish literature have also delved into the rich array of Scottish prose, poetry, drama and advice literature to further intensify such debates by marking the flourishing literary

4 Louise O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Wisconsin, 1991); Caroline Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland, David Lindsay of the Mount* (Amherst, 1994); Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh, 2005). See also Janet H. Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style, 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V* (East Linton, 1996); John Harrison, *Rebirth of a Palace: The Royal Court at Stirling Castle* (Edinburgh, 2011).

5 Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528–1542*, (ed.) N. Macdougall (East Linton, 1998); Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Third edition, Edinburgh, 2006).

6 Roger Mason, 'Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart Kingship (1469–1542)', in Brown and Tanner (eds), *Scottish Kingship, 1306–1542*, pp. 255–78; Katie Stevenson, *Power and Patronage, 1306–1488* (Edinburgh, 2014).

7 Some examples include: Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Chivalry as a Catalyst for Cultural Change in Late Medieval Scotland', in R. Suntrup and J.R. Veenstra (eds), *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change* (Wein, 2001), pp. 151–74; Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006); Stevenson, 'Jurisdiction, Authority and Professionalization: The Officers of Arms of Late Medieval Scotland', in Stevenson (ed.), *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 41–66; Stevenson, 'Heraldry, Iconography and Dynasty in Representations of Royal Authority', presented at *Representations of Authority to 1707: Scotland and her Nearest Neighbours Conference* (University of Stirling, August 2012); Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British Sovereignty and Dynastic Politics: Undercurrents of Antagonism in Tudor–Stewart Relations, c.1490–c.1513', *HR*, 86 (2013): pp. 601–18.

8 For example: Roger Mason, 'Regum et Imperium: Humanism and the Political Culture of Early Renaissance Scotland', in *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 104–38; Mason, 'The Realm of Scotland is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of Bower's Scotichronicon* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 73–91.

culture within the Scottish secular elites, particularly within the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹ Equally, the works of Richard Oram, Geoffrey Stell, Fiona Watson, Charles McKean and Richard Fawcett have revolutionised the way in which architecture in Scotland is understood as a versatile and potent tool of representation for nobility, royalty and the church.¹⁰ These multifarious explorations beyond the political narrative provide solid foundations for developing a firmer understanding of representations of authority both within Scotland and in their interactions outwith the kingdom, as well as challenging presumptions that Scotland laboured far behind her foreign counterparts both intellectually and materially. Equally such scholarship is often exploratory and invites us to question further how and with what level of success power was projected by those who held it, or wished to do so, particularly by groups and individuals outside the royal circle.

When looking to scholarship beyond Scotland, the inclination in current historiography considering representations of authority also frequently gravitates towards royalty and courts when considering the manners in which authority and power were projected and, in many instances, the focus of such studies is directed largely at the early modern era. One dominant royal or ducal individual, such as Louis XIV of France, Henry VIII of England, or Philip the Bold and John the Fearless of Burgundy,¹¹ or a single powerful court, such as

9 For example: Sally L. Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450–1500' (Unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1986); Mapstone, 'Was there a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991): pp. 410–22; L.A.J.R. Houwen, Alasdair A. MacDonald and Sally Mapstone (eds), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven, 2000); Priscilla Bawcutt, "'My Bright Buke": Women and their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in J. Wogan-Browne et al. (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 17–34; Mapstone (ed.), *William Dunbar 'The Nobill Poyet': Essays in Honour of Priscilla Bawcutt* (East Linton, 2001); Rhiannon Purdy and Nicola Royan (eds), *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend* (Cambridge, 2005); Nicola Royan, "'Mark Your Meroure Be Me": Richard Holland's *Buke of the Howlat*', in Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (eds), *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 49–62; Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry 1424–1540* (Aldershot, 2008); Ralph Hanna (ed.), *The Buke of the Howlat by Richard Holland* (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 2014).

10 Fiona J. Watson, 'The Expression of Power in a Medieval Kingdom: Thirteenth-Century Scottish Castles', in Sally Foster, Allan MacInnes and Randal MacInnes (eds), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow, 1998), pp. 59–78; Charles McKean, *The Scottish Chateau: The Country House and Renaissance Scotland* (Stroud, 2004); Richard Oram and Geoffrey P. Stell (eds), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005); Oram, 'Castles, Concepts and Contexts: Castle Studies in Scotland in Retrospect and Prospect', *Chateau Gaillard*, 23 (2008): pp. 349–59; Oram, 'Royal and Lordly Residence in Scotland, c.1050–c.1250', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 88 (2008): pp. 165–89; Richard Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Church 1100–1560* (London and New Haven, 2011).

11 For example: Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992); Elisabeth Antoine, *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364–1419* (Washington, 2005); Thomas Betteridge and Suzanne Lipscomb (eds), *Henry VIII: Art, Politics and Performance* (Farnham, 2013).

that of the Tudors,¹² often forms the central core of such explorations. However, comparative studies are certainly on the rise in both instances. In court studies, for example, works by John Adamson (whose edited collection draws together early modern scholars of courts across Europe), Malcolm Vale (uncovering the 'forgotten age' of the court in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in northern Europe) and Jeroen Duidam (who compares the rival courts of Vienna and Versailles post-1550) have all opened up such pan-European avenues of discussion.¹³ Nonetheless, these studies remain within either medieval or early modern boundaries. New initiatives, such as the recently formed Royal Studies Network which emerged from a conference at Bath in 2012 (and is led by Dr Elena Woodacre), have seen an opening of discussions between those researching royalty across Europe, and further afield, from medieval to early modern (and even beyond), to build a more comparative approach across place but also time period.¹⁴ This volume, too, seeks to bridge the divide between medieval and early modern marked out by much modern scholarship.

While the essays here have ultimately ended up weighted towards royal representations in the British Isles, there was an active attempt to draw in scholarship from beyond the male-dominated royal sphere; thus, the collection includes work on burghal, noble and monastic representations of authority, and also looks at two female rulers.¹⁵ Moreover, Kevin Sharpe has pointedly remarked that 'the representation and exercise of authority perforce involved a dialogue with subjects'.¹⁶ Thereby, all the studies of representations of authority herein actively engage where possible with the creation, adaption and upholding of the dialogue between the ruler and the ruled (at various levels of society), such as James Hillson's study of the decorative schemes at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, which explores the visual dialogue between the king and nobility manifested within heraldic display. Without an audience for these representations, the display was hollow and this collection seeks to demonstrate

12 This literature is vast; however, some prominent examples include: Sydney Angelo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969); Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation* (Chicago, 2006); Tatiana C. String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Ashgate, 2008); Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (London and New Haven, 2009); Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (London and New Haven, 2013).

13 John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500–1750* (London, 2000); Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in Northwest Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford, 2001); Jeroen Duidam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge, 2003).

14 For example see one of the first publications from this network: Sean MacGlynn and Elena Woodacre (eds), *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014).

15 Other studies that were pursued for the volume, which would have widened the geographic area covered by the volume, included work on Catherine de Medici's role in the royal tour of France in 1564–66, the archery and crossbow guilds in Flanders, public expressions of political dialogue in fifteenth-century Scotland, and female authority represented through the documents, seals and coins of the reigning queens of Navarre.

16 Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London, 2013), p. 2.

connections between the creator and the audience, and actively promote further explorations in this arena.

Another outcome which this volume hopes to cultivate is interdisciplinarity and, in so doing, invite further exploration and comparison of the many modes of representation. There have been a number of keen advocates of the need for an interdisciplinary approach to fully marry together the politics and culture of the past to form a fuller understanding of how power was exercised.¹⁷ Yet, many existing studies of expressions of authority are often dedicated to individual types or modes of projecting authority, such as dress, tapestries and portraiture all treated separately for the court of Henry VIII.¹⁸ This is similarly often found where studies offer broader European comparisons, such as those found in recent works on waterborne pageants and royal entries across Europe, or monuments and monumentality.¹⁹ Similarly, architecture has been considered separately rather than alongside other forms of display on the whole, and different building types are usually segmented. However, developments in castle studies, particularly led by Oliver Creighton, Robert Liddiard and Martin Hansson, have increasingly focused on how surrounding landscapes were actively used as status enhancement, with arguments made for a distinct 'spatial ideology' found in building work undertaken by both aristocratic and royal patrons in medieval and early modern Europe.²⁰ A continued focus on considering a lordly landscape as a whole entity, rather than segregated elements, continues through the conferences and subsequent publications of several castleology societies, including Chateau Gaillard, Castle Studies Group and the Turris Group.²¹ Festival studies have also been spreading feelers into this area

17 For example: Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: the Culture of Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2000); John Steane, *The Archaeology of Power* (London, 2001); Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (eds), *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany* (Brepols, 2006); Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*; Sharpe, *Reading Authority*.

18 Maria Hayward, *Dress in the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2007); Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven and London, 2007); String, *Art and Communication*.

19 Margaret Shewring and Linda Briggs (eds), *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.R. Mulryne (European Festival Studies: 1450–1700)* (Farnham, 2013); Michael Penman (ed.), *Monuments and Monumentality Across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, 2013); Ronald Mulryne and Anna Maria Testaverde with Maria Ines Aliverti (eds), *The Iconography of Power: Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2015).

20 Oliver H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2005); Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066–1500* (Macclesfield, 2005); Martin Hansson, *Aristocratic Landscape: The Spatial Ideology of the Medieval Aristocracy* (Lund Studies in Historical Archaeology 2, 2006), esp. pp. 197–204; Creighton, *Early European Castles: Aristocracy and Authority AD 800–1200* (Bristol, 2012); Buchanan, 'The Social, Geographical, and Structural Environments of Minor Noble Residences'.

21 Castle Studies Group, <http://www.castlestudiesgroup.org.uk/>; Chateau Gaillard, 1–26 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1962–); Richard Oram (ed.), *Tower Studies 1 – 'A House that Thieves Might Knock at': Proceedings of the 2010 Stirling and 2011 Dundee Conferences on 'The Tower as Lordly Residence' and 'The Tower and the Household'* (Donington, 2015).

with an increasing focus upon the permanent and temporary settings of spectacular events in recent years, alongside analysis of their symbolism, accompanying texts and music.²² Furthermore, there have been attempts to forge more distinct connections between historical documents and literary texts and even the performance of these (where the texts were written with performance in mind), with an increased focus on the reading of texts and manuscripts in their contextual settings; therefore, engaging with the visual and ‘additional’ material as part of a whole.²³

Since authority could be represented in so many diverse ways, the goal here was to further break down another barrier created by modern reinterpretation and allow multiple methods of demonstrating power and disseminating the image of authority to be viewed alongside each other. Part of our aim was to encourage projections of medieval and early modern authority, much like sites of religious worship, to be re-experienced or re-imagined to their full synaesthetic impact.²⁴ The collection includes work on material culture, painting, sculpture, heraldry and other forms of iconography, poetry, architecture and landscapes, saintly cults and liturgy, speeches, performance, music and ceremonial display, propaganda, martial flexing and strategic alliances. These chapters have been organised into four thematic areas so as to best display the array of subjects, themes and focuses provided. Each section covers a variety of time periods and geographical locations within the British Isles and intends to provide a platform for further discussion and continued research concerning representations of authority.

Section One: Using and Reusing Internal and External Spaces

Claiming spaces has been one of the basic functions of representing authority, from animals marking their territory to the immediately identifiable large corporations such as Apple or McDonald’s. In an anthropogenic context, claiming space is often focused around the built environment, with some of the most clear and long lasting proclamations of authority remaining key elements of our cultural heritage; for example, the Great Wall of China, the Egyptian pyramids

22 For example, ‘Making Space for Festival, 1400–1700. Interactions of Architecture and Performance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Festivals’, Venice, March 2013 (Palatium, Society for European Festival Research, University of Warwick and European Science Foundation) and subsequent publication: Ronnie Mulryne and Krista De Jonge, with Richard Morris (eds), *Architectures of Festival: Fashioning and Re-Fashioning Urban and Courtly Space in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, forthcoming).

23 For example: Sandra Hindman, *Sealed in Parchment: Rereading of Knighthood in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes* (Chicago, 1994); Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802* (New Haven and London, 1997); Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London, 1998); David Areford and Nina Rowe (eds), *Excavating the Medieval Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences: Essays in honour of Sandra Hindman* (Aldershot, 2004).

24 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), ch. 5; Stephen Lamia, ‘Nostalgia, Memory and *loca sancta*: Romanesque Monuments as Macrocosmic Pilgrimage Souvenirs’, in Penman (ed), *Monuments and Monumentality*, pp. 105–16.

and Hadrian's Wall to name a few.²⁵ Although these structural remains carry meaning into the modern world, the initial intentions behind their creation, reclamation and use have always fascinated historians. The first four chapters look at the use and reuse of internal and external space in the representations of royal, noble, social and religious authority through medieval and early modern times.

In his chapter, David Simpkin looks beyond basic military might in war towards the appropriation of centres of Scottish royal power by the English kings Edward I, II and III in Scotland through overt displays of Plantagenet wealth and status. Such statements of power came in many different forms depending on the length and purpose of the stay of the king. Simpkin first discusses the efforts made by the English kings during extended stays in Scotland, such as the work financed at Dunfermline at the time of Edward I's residency in 1303–04 to provide increased space for the king's wardrobe and security of property. However, the use of more temporary arrangements was also common throughout protracted movements in enemy territory. Simpkin illuminates how tents of great variety were utilised to provide the required space for, and command the necessary visual authority of, the English king on campaign. Finally, his assessment of the material culture used in the face of conflict discusses the accoutrements of royalty, including grand garments, elegant flags, crosses and banners, used by the English to manifest their authority in traditionally Scottish spaces through keeping up appearances of splendour and status.

One of the main methods for medieval authority to be represented was through the built environment. Taking an observation from Charles Coulson about monastic gatehouses in France and England as his starting point, Richard Oram discusses how the design of gatehouses in Scottish monasteries was used to symbolise secular jurisdiction authority.²⁶ To do this, Oram looks at monasteries which were given rights usually reserved for the crown: to preside over cases involving theft, murder, arson and rape. Granting these powers, or regalities, to land owners became an increasingly popular form of giving authority throughout the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. In many cases, the right of regality was given to monasteries, increasing their secular influence and bringing the community to the monasteries for these issues to be resolved. Oram discusses how these jurisdictional rights of regality were physically demonstrated by the structural makeup of the gatehouses, working through the limited number of surviving archaeological remains available in Scotland.

Kate Buchanan's contribution draws from groundbreaking interdisciplinary doctoral research into the social, geographical and structural environments of the residences of minor Scottish nobles in Angus in the fifteenth and sixteenth

25 Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Los Angeles, 2003).

26 Charles Coulson, 'Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation: An Essay in the Sociology and Metaphysics of Medieval Fortification', *Medieval Archaeology*, 26 (1982): pp. 69–100.

centuries. This piece considers two specific rights, those of milling and fishing, and explores what the positioning and control of such rights meant in terms of the authority vested in them for the nobles who acquired such rights from the crown. Both milling and fishing were interlinked through the control of water and, in turn, each essentially allowed the monopoly over essential resources to the people living in and around the lands in which they were situated. Buchanan uses four specific case studies of Inverquhar, Panmure, Brechin and Finavon in which the chartered rights and geographical positioning, pinpointed through contemporary and later maps, plans, paintings and other methods of site analysis, are investigated to reveal the importance of the close proximity of these features to the noble residence. By exploring these specific examples, Buchanan demonstrates the significance of such rights and their physical manifestations in the demonstrations of social control and the exercising of power for local landed elites.

In the final chapter of this section, Kirsteen MacKenzie highlights that representations of power create a dialogue between the creator and the audience, generally designed to benefit the creator. Her essay demonstrates how the use of space was essential to representing powers and authorities, but what it represents originates from a socially constructed power base. As a result, spaces tend to have conflicting representations, especially when there is a transferral of power. By comparing military occupation in Glasgow in 1645 to that of 1650–53, MacKenzie explores the volatility of the social ideals behind the use of space. In 1645 the Marquis of Montrose was invited into the town in order to lessen any adverse effects of the military presence, creating a relatively peaceful representation of royalist authority. However, in 1650, Cromwell's attempts to occupy Glasgow were met with strong refusal, creating an interesting dialogue of actions between town officials, church leaders, military personnel and academic voices relating to the conflict of powers in Glasgow demonstrated by the burgh records. MacKenzie's contribution puts forth a key discussion of the use of urban spaces in expressing power and authority.

Section Two: Pious Rituals and Military Display

Public demonstrations of religious conviction and pious devotion were powerful tools in representing authority in an era when the church was central to life at all societal levels. Despite the known prominence of religion, there is still much to learn about the practice of religion and a continued under-appreciation for the importance of piety in the broader historical landscape. As such, our understanding of how religion was used as an aspect of display and how this can further inform our understanding of the past is constantly evolving. The following three chapters engage with royal appropriation of religious ritual and feast days, the development of iconographic decorative schemes in ecclesiastical settings reflecting monarchical self-imaging, and pious devotions to a national 'Scottish' saint on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border to explore further the symbiotic relationship between the religious and the secular which permeated medieval life.

Michael Penman's contribution focuses on the value of combined liturgical and secular ceremony in the first twelve years of Robert I's reign amongst internal and external threats to his authority, including his enemy and master in the art of display, Edward I. By analysing three key ceremonial moments – Palm Sunday following inauguration (1306), Parliament combined with All Souls (1314) and the consecration of St Andrews Cathedral (1318) – Penman illustrates how authority was manifested in a range of staged royal rituals involving the political community. Though Robert was king, a triumph in itself, this was a complex period throughout which he had to build up the trust, support and loyalty of his countrymen and earn the respect of the wider European community. The ceremony in July 1318, following in the wake of the crucial capture of Berwick-upon-Tweed in April of that year, was an impressive occasion that far outstripped the improvised inauguration of 1306. But crucially, both occurred in the face of papal condemnation. This essay based in extensive primary research acts as one amongst a number of pieces by Penman that dovetail with his new biography (2014) of this famous but surprisingly misunderstood monarch. In doing so it offers evidence of the manner in which Robert, under the guidance of prominent men of the church in most instances, recast himself following his questionable accession to the throne by representing his royal authority through expertly integrated religious and secular ritual.

Artistic display is one of the major elements of representing power and authority. In his chapter, James Hillson discusses heraldic and iconographic imagery used by Edward III within St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. St Stephen's chapel originally contained five bays and two stories, a chapel on each storey, and has undergone many phases of construction and remodelling. The stripping of wooden panelling in 1800 revealed a series of images in the eastern upper storey from Edward III's construction period, preserved in antiquarian records, but mostly lost by a fire in 1834. Among the surviving imagery are Old Testament stories from Job and Tobit and sources reveal the presence of saints Eustace, Mercurius and George, along with the Virgin Mary and Three Magi. Images of Edward III and his family with Saint George in veneration of the Virgin Mary are also present, with a notable lack of the presence of Saint Stephen. Hillson analyses the imagery from this find and the financial accounts of its creation to discuss changes in iconographic imagery, moving away from the traditional interpretations of dynasty. Here he identifies a significant change in the use of self-imagery, the saints chosen to be portrayed and the trinitarian relationship of saints, nobles and monarchs.

Tom Turpie's contribution looks at the development of the cult of St Ninian, starting in Scotland with the relatively late royal and central church sponsorship of Ninian, to analyse the claiming and reclaiming of this blessed saint from both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border. Visited by Robert the Bruce, this saint of Whithorn, Galloway, became a frequent site of royal visitors through the reigns of James II, III and IV (1437–1513), initially due

to political rivalry for power in this contested area of south west Scotland between James II and his most powerful nobles, the Black Douglasses, in the 1450s. Equally, the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw an increased appropriation of the saint by the Scottish church marked by Ninian's receipt of both a long detailed entry and a double feast in the celebrated *Aberdeen Breviary* (1510). However, the majority of Turpie's investigation into Ninian's cult explores the fascinating cross-border appeal of this saint who was favoured by pilgrims from England (as well as Ireland and France) and was also a focus of the piety of Richard III, both as duke of Gloucester and king of England. By exploring evidence of pilgrimage, pious dedications, prayers, books of hours and miracles, Turpie provides a thorough analysis of the role of St Ninian, one of only a handful of 'British' saints to transcend national strife and Anglo-Scottish political turmoil to provide a religious authority in which the Scots and English found equal solace.

Section Three: Representing Female Power and Noble Authority

Royal women and Highland elites are perhaps, at first glance, an unlikely grouping. However, both groups faced similar challenges in representing their authority as those assumed to hold a place on the periphery of their respective epicentres of power. For sixteenth-century women in positions of royal power and Highland elites navigating the fine line between the courtier and the Highland lord in the seventeenth century, the choices of how to demonstrate authority in the midst of complex political and religious backdrops required a delicate balancing act. This section engages with mediums of display, such as ceremony and rituals, rhetoric and language, material culture and conspicuous consumption, and military might and public office holding, to offer fresh analysis of the methods used by queens (both widowed and regnant) and nobles in their projections of authority.

Set against the complex challenges to the authority of the crown that existed in Scotland in the 1540s and 1550s, Lucinda Dean follows on from her extensive doctoral research on Scottish royal ceremony across four centuries by focusing specifically on the events orchestrated by the dowager Marie de Guise during the minority of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–c.1560). Not only does this paper address cross-cultural issues and the struggles with religious diversity for a French Roman Catholic in a Scotland on the verge of Reformation, but it also adds to valuable discussions on female royal power by discussing issues surrounding gender biases of the time. This chapter uses four key events – the coronation of the infant Mary in 1543, Marie de Guise's return via Protestant England from France in 1551, her 1554 accession as Regent and the celebrations of Mary's marriage to the Dauphin of France in 1558 – analysed through chronicles, financial materials and state papers to discuss how the dowager used ceremony to portray her daughter's royal authority. From this, an exciting picture emerges of the skilled manipulation of performance, ceremony and

material culture by Marie de Guise, one of Scotland's most fascinating queens consort and royal mothers, in her bid to emphasise the royal power and authority of her daughter's dynastic stature within the complex circumstances of mid-sixteenth-century Scotland.

Estelle Paranque's contribution offers new insight into the complexities of representing royal authority through the figure of a queen regnant in the sixteenth century, complementing a well-established field of Elizabethan scholars including Anna Whitelock, Ben Spiller and Carole Levin. Paranque's assessment approaches the subject in an interdisciplinary manner, binding a study of literature and language with history, by concentrating on the rhetoric of Elizabeth I. She does so by addressing the use of language in Elizabeth's speeches and letters during the period from 1585 to 1593, encompassing two of the most prominent challenges to the queen's authority: the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and the onslaughts of the Spanish Armada. The chapter considers how qualities such as justice, temperance, bravery, martyrdom, self-sacrifice and the image of the Christian soldier, were manipulated by the queen in her rhetorical representations of warlike female kingship. In so doing, Paranque demonstrates the importance of reading into the multifarious layers of an individual's language choice and use to create a more rounded understanding of that individual and offers a fresh, lively approach to her field.

Allan Kennedy rounds off this section by extending the fashionable trend of researching the Scottish nobility, championed by the likes of Keith Brown and Jenny Wormald (to whom a recent collection edited by Steve Boardman and Julian Goodare *Kings, Lords and Men* (2014) has been dedicated). Yet Kennedy forges a new path in this field by exploring the modes in which the under-studied Highland elites of the seventeenth century demonstrated their authority at a local level and beyond. He dispels the lingering myths of Highland backwardness through this enlightening study which looks at modes of representation usually acquainted with Lowland rather than Highland elites, such as conspicuous consumption and roles in public office holding, alongside the more traditionally Highland methods, such as military might and kinship. This work also demonstrates the changing nature and slow decline of many modes of representation for Highland nobility as the seventeenth century progressed, which made the 'traditional' more elusive in reality and the adoption of 'Lowland' modes to broaden their repertoire of representing authority essential. Kennedy, following in the footsteps of his first monograph *Governing Gaeldom*, openly challenges preconceptions of the Scottish Highlands in the early modern era and brings a welcome focus upon these integral members of Scottish elite society.²⁷

27 Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660–1685* (Leiden, 2014), shortlisted for the Saltire Prize in Scottish History 2014.

Section Four: Privileged Poetry, Music and Material Culture

Representations of authority, as stated in the opening paragraph, were of little note unless observed and appreciated by the populous at large. While grand military displays and ceremonial occasions were witnessed by large crowds, often the methods through which authority was most subtly expressed were those with which people came into contact more readily. This final section of the collection looks at how the arts, material culture, literature and music were used to identify central powers in Scotland and Ireland during the medieval and early modern eras. Different kinds of power required different forms of display, and all time periods have various layers of authority, each layer requiring a unique portrayal of authority. It is through artistic, cultural and the everyday presence of images of authority that an understanding of current powers seep into the greater consciousness of the populations.

Elizabeth FitzPatrick examines prominent forms of material expression of kingship amongst Ireland's native noble elites to build upon and challenge existing scholarship addressing the so-called 'Gaelic resurgence' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the first instance, she contests this terminology of 'revival', proposing instead that what really occurred in this era was 'self-refashioning' and 'publicising' of traditional expressions of power in the face of overt threats to political power. FitzPatrick focuses firstly upon the refurbishment of book shrines in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which offer interesting insights into the aspirations of these Irish lords through elaborate refashioning and inscriptions that make forceful statements about their royal claims. Furthermore, the subsequent discussion on the emergence of the *pailís* (palace, palisaded enclosure or fortress, palisade or stockade)²⁸ from c.1300 draws on place-name research and archaeological evidence to discuss this 'status building of choice', and provides a truly interdisciplinary analysis of these individuals and their expressions of material authority in a complex era of transitional power.

While concurring with recent scholarship emphasising the importance of patronage, creation and transmission of poetry and literature by Scottish nobility in the fifteenth century, Kylie Murray's chapter returns the focus to the royal court. Her reappraisal of three pieces from the mid-fifteenth century, and their role in representing royal authority, begins with the *Kingis Quair* and its proposed royal authorship. The analysis of the poem delves into two areas in which Murray has now a well-established authority – Scottish dream poetry and Boethius – and in so doing emphasises the importance of this royal contribution to the development of literary forms and style in Scotland in James I's reign and beyond. Furthermore, it offers an intriguing new piece of proof of James's authorship in a comparison between the 'mystical tenor' of the poem

28 E.G. Quin (ed.), *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* (Dublin, 1990), p. 494 [172].

and the design of the seal matrix of James's Carthusian charterhouse at Perth. In her subsequent sections, the influence of this royal composition upon other works is addressed; firstly, with an assessment of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* as a response to it, and secondly, by proposing it provided the principal source for *Lancelot of the Laik's* dream-prologue. These three works are all well-known to literary and history scholars alike; however, Murray's reinterpretation of them provides fresh appreciation of such literary compositions as interlinking modes of articulation of royal authority.

Jamie Reid-Baxter's contribution addresses the use of music to represent authority to the audio receivers of a large audience. Looking particularly at the *L'homme armé*, a tune of Burgundian origin used to set masses throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and *Missa dum sacrum mysterium*, a mass focusing around the Archangel Michael, Reid-Baxter looks at how the crown used these masses to emphasise authority in the early sixteenth century. The only known version of *L'homme armé* composed in the British Isles was written by a canon of Scone Abbey, Robert Carver. Traditionally, *L'homme armé* is filled with crusading symbolism and it is suggested that it accompanied the presentation of the Scottish Sword of State, a gift from the pope associated with encouraging crusade and given to James IV in 1507. Carver's *Missa dum sacrum mysterium* is a strong tribute to the Archangel Michael, set in the context of Scotland along with the largest warship at the time, the *Great Michael*, and an unminted gold coin featuring the archangel. Reid-Baxter discusses how the tunes and lyrics of both these songs are strong representations of James IV's dialogue of authority with European powers.

In the final chapter, Stephen Bowman considers early modern Scottish craftsmen, their group organisation and commercial authority. The main stage for craft development and commerce was the burgh, which included a complex system of merchant guilds and craft incorporations, creating levels of official recognition from the authorities of the burgh to continue business. It was through this system that craft production, quality and selling was controlled, and often through specific organisations that quality gained a reputation. Bowman looks at the hammermen and associated craftsmen – such as blacksmiths, silversmiths, sword slippers and gun makers – to demonstrate how these craft organisations developed in Scotland. Through his discussion, Bowman addresses both how and why the authority of these craftsmen was represented. Using a carved panel currently displayed in the National Museum of Scotland to identify common symbolism of the hammermen in particular, Bowman analyses the development of this craft and its guild in Stirling and Glasgow, focusing specifically on what powers they had and how these commercial privileges were enforced.

Although this volume has ended up focusing on Scottish, English and Irish representations of authority, the original aim was to include a wider discussion involving Europe (a number of papers were originally proposed or invited from scholars of France, Aragon and Flanders).²⁹ However, the four themes discussed

29 See above, fn. 15.

here are also relevant to the wider European context and it is our hope that this volume will prompt a continued discussion of the manifestations of power and authority considering the many mediums and varieties of display. One way we would like to see this research continue is to expand the discussion further beyond royalty and nobles, using Bowman's chapter to springboard the discussion to further investigate representations of authority in towns across medieval and early modern Scotland and Europe, and exploring to a greater extent the contrasts and similarities found within the layers of society and their promotion of authority. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary nature of this volume has been very exciting and valuable and it is hoped that the worth of these methods encourages further interdisciplinary research in this area. May others find as much inspiration in the discussions in this volume as we have in working with its contributors.

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Section I

Using and Reusing Internal and External Spaces

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1 Keeping up Appearances

The English Royal Court on Military Campaigns to Scotland, 1296–1336

*David Simpkin*¹

Among the English there were many reasons to bemoan the events of 23–24 June 1314, when over two days the large army led to Scotland by Edward II was routed by the soldiers of King Robert I at the battle of Bannockburn. Few contemporaries better summed up the losses suffered and the ignominy of the defeat than the well-informed author of the *Life of Edward II*. First there were the deaths, not only of the earl of Gloucester and the paragon of chivalry Sir Giles Argentein, but also of many other prominent knights, including Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Payn Tibetot and Sir Edmund Mauley. Then there were the large numbers of prisoners. ‘More than 500 were thought to be dead’, the anonymous author states, ‘but were taken captive and later ransomed’, these including such prominent figures as the earl of Hereford, Sir John Segrave and Sir Maurice Berkeley.² On top of the many personal losses was heaped the damage done to the military reputation of the English, who not long since had conquered the Welsh: ‘Oh! Famous race unconquered through the ages, why do you, who used to conquer knights, flee from foot soldiers?’³ What is sometimes overlooked, however, is the emphasis placed by the author on the material losses suffered by the English, who had evidently ventured north of the border in some splendour.⁴ It is towards the end of his account of the battle and its aftermath that the anonymous author takes a moment to reflect on these losses too:

Oh, day of vengeance and misfortune, day of ruin and dishonour, evil and accursed day, not to be reckoned in our calendar, that stained the reputation of the English, and robbed the English and enriched the Scots, in which our men’s costly belongings, valued at 200,000 pounds, were snatched away! So many fine noblemen, and strong young men, so many

1 The author would like to thank James Hillson, Michael Penman and Andrew Ayton for their comments on this chapter.

2 *Vita Edwardi Secundi: The Life of Edward II*, (trans.) and (ed.) Wendy R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), p. 97.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

4 For some mention of these material losses, see, for example: Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (4th edn, Edinburgh, 2005), p. 300.

noble horses, so much military equipment, costly garments, and gold plate – all lost in one harsh day, one fleeting hour.⁵

While the author might have emphasised these material losses in order to draw attention to the greed and moral failings of the English king and aristocracy, as an explanation of the defeat,⁶ it must be remembered that he was a stickler for accuracy by the standards of historical writing at the time and that he was also close to or at least well informed about many of the events that he describes.⁷ There is not any reason to doubt, therefore, the scale of the material losses at Bannockburn. The defeat in the field of the king of England, who was present with his court, was a most unusual event and probably accounts in large measure for the great quantities of ‘costly garments’ and ‘gold plate’ that were lost. In turn, the author’s comments on the wealth and splendour that adorned the English army on its march to Stirling in 1314 casts valuable light on the visual aspects of royal-led English armies in Scotland during the fourteenth century. That the aim of the English Crown was to overwhelm the Scots by force of arms is clear enough, but it was surely also a complementary objective to overawe the Scots through the pomp and grandeur of the English royal court. By analysing the material elements of the royal court on military campaigns to Scotland between 1296 and 1336, the main era of royal expeditions to the north, the aim of this study is to consider how the kings of England attempted to do this.

The Court as Space: Royal Residences and Lodgings

The medieval English royal court was peripatetic, but by the late thirteenth century there were within England a number of familiar itineraries dotted with frequently used royal residences, particularly in the south-east, which ensured for the Crown an important degree of comfort on its travels about the realm, even if there was no court routine as such.⁸ This was not the case, however, when the court crossed into enemy territory north of the border. On military campaigns even the best-laid plans might become obsolete as both the army and the royal court at its centre had to adapt to developing situations on the ground and trace the movements of the enemy. A classic example relates to the Falkirk campaign in the summer of 1298. The chronicler Walter Guisborough records how, upon learning that the Scottish army was just six leagues away at Falkirk, Edward I ordered a speedy march towards the Scottish position. In the

5 *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 97. See also *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, pp. 353, 359, 375.

6 Cf. Roy M. Haines, *King Edward II: His Life, his Reign and its Aftermath, 1284–1330* (Montreal and London, 2003), p. 257.

7 Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London and New York, 2004), pp. 10, 18–19, 156, 167–9.

8 Michael Prestwich, ‘The Court of Edward II’, in Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (eds), *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 61–75, at p. 64.

haste to locate William Wallace and his army there was little pause for comfort, and the English spent the night before the battle sleeping out in the open air, a decision that almost proved fatal for the king:

And when they had come to a moor near Linlithgow they passed the night there and rested on the ground, using shields for pillows and armour for beds . . . And when they had paused a little and the night had drawn in, the king's destrier unexpectedly kicked back from the boy watching over it and placed its foot on the resting king.⁹

Evidently, then, there were times on military campaigns to Scotland when the need to preserve the comfort and majesty of the king took second place to practical and strategic considerations. However, during most of their time in Scotland, the kings of England did not face the immediate prospect of a pitched battle. A large proportion of their time was spent touring castles, receiving wavering Scots into their peace, holding councils of war and even dwelling in winter quarters. In such circumstances as these, suitable existing lodgings could often be found.

Even within war-torn Scotland there were many opportunities for the king and his court to find suitable and comfortable quarters in captured castles or in appropriated abbeys and baronial manor houses. During the longer campaigns, in particular, there would be ample opportunity for the king and his court to settle down in the same location for a number of weeks or even months. At the height of the campaign of 1303–04 Edward I and his court arrived at Dunfermline, Fife, on 5 November 1303 and stayed there through to 1 March 1304.¹⁰ Following his ride into Scotland in the autumn of 1310 Edward II returned to Berwick for the winter, arriving there at the beginning of November and remaining there, except for the occasional outing to nearby castles in the March, through to the end of the campaign in the following July.¹¹ In the winter of 1334–35 Edward III spent over two months at Roxburgh in difficult conditions, while Perth formed a base of operations during the summer of 1336.¹² Whilst military campaigns therefore sometimes saw the royal court moving more quickly and reactively than might normally be the case during itineraries in England, they might also see the king and court more stationary than on other occasions, especially during the treacherous and cold Scottish winters. What face did the court present to the world during these long sojourns at Dunfermline, Berwick and Perth?

9 *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, (ed.) Harry Rothwell (Camden Society 3rd Series, 89, 1957), p. 326.

10 *The Itinerary of Edward I. Part II: 1291–1307*, (ed.) E.W. Swaford (List and Index Society, 132, London, 1976), pp. 217–23.

11 *The Itinerary of Edward II and his Household, 1307–1328*, (ed.) Elizabeth M. Hallam (List and Index Society, 211, London, 1984), pp. 66–75.

12 *The Itinerary of Edward III and his Household, 1327–1345*, (ed.) Caroline Shenton (List and Index Society, 318, London, 2007), pp. 126–30, 148–51.

Particular importance was attached to providing suitable lodgings for the court during the campaign of 1303–04, not only because of the unusual length of the expedition but also because Queen Margaret joined the court during the winter at Dunfermline Abbey and remained with the king through to the end of the campaign the following summer.¹³ The wardrobe book shows that Edward I had two lodges added outside the great door of the abbey and also had a pantry built of timber.¹⁴ Evidently more space was required as two workmen were also paid for work on a house for the keeping of the king's wardrobe.¹⁵ Security was a concern, for a foss was built at Dunfermline during the king's stay there, and when the court moved on to Cambuskenneth Abbey in April four locks were purchased for four new doors that had been made on the queen's orders.¹⁶ Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Queen Margaret was most concerned about keeping at bay the Scots, the draught or her own husband! Following the departure from Dunfermline and before the arrival at Cambuskenneth the court had spent several weeks at St Andrews. Before the arrival there of the king, the queen and their attendants, Henry Touk, a valet of the king's chamber, was sent from Dunfermline to St Andrews for the purpose of repairing the houses inside the castle. The accounts show that payments were made to 13 carpenters, four cementers and three labourers for covering the various chambers within the castle, which presumably were leaking; to 16 plasterers for plastering the walls within the said houses; and to four smiths for the making of iron for the windows and doors in the houses.¹⁷ From St Andrews and Cambuskenneth the court moved on to Stirling, where further building works were carried out. It is well known that Edward had a grandstand built for his queen and daughters to sit in while they watched his army besiege Stirling Castle, but the wardrobe accounts also record the building of various houses¹⁸ for the use of the king, queen, the bishop of Chester and their officers, while crochets and cords were purchased for the queen's curtains during her stay at Stirling.¹⁹ All in all, considerable effort was put into ensuring the comfort of the king, the queen and their court during this long campaign and in maintaining the majesty of the Crown in wartime circumstances.

The campaign of 1303–04 seems to have been exceptional in terms of the extent of the building work carried out, which can be explained by the length of the court's stay at some of these places and the presence of the queen. However, Edward III also brought in the builders during his stay at Roxburgh in the

13 Her predecessor as queen, Eleanor of Castile, had been known for her appreciation of fine objects, carpets and tapestries: *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290*, (ed.) John C. Parsons (Toronto, 1977), pp. 11–12.

14 BL, Add. MS 8835, fol. 7r.

15 Ibid., fol. 7v. See also *CDS*, ii, nos 1408, 1414.

16 BL, Add. MS 8835, fols 7v, 8v.

17 Ibid., fol. 21r.

18 Original: *domos*.

19 Ibid., fols 11v, 15v.

winter of 1334–35 and at Perth in the summer of 1336. At Roxburgh Edward had brought from Berwick 575 spars of fir and 1,008 tables and boards of ‘Estland’, among other items, for the raising and repairing of the peel there, which had been destroyed by Robert Bruce, while ‘a workforce of over 200 labourers, masons, carpenters, pavilioners, overseers and smiths . . . immediately set to work repairing the fortifications’.²⁰ In like manner, at Perth in 1336 carpenters were employed in enclosing the town and repairing the bridge.²¹ Although in both of these instances the primary emphasis was on security rather than comfort, there was also an element of upgrading these residences to meet the needs of the king. Ranald Nicholson remarks that the works at Roxburgh probably made the peel habitable by the end of the campaign.²²

One solution to the problem of maintaining the splendour and space of the royal court even when access to suitable castles, abbeys or manors was not possible was for a portable court to be used in the form of tents and pavilions. For the reign of Edward I a good deal of research has been carried out on the royal tents by Frédérique Lachaud, whose work has drawn attention to the practical and symbolic importance of the royal tents and their surprising neglect by historians.²³ The most common terminology used was ‘tents’ or ‘pavilions’, with the pavilions perhaps being simply large tents, while the most common material was canvas, though sometimes leather was also used for greater comfort and protection within the king’s inner chambers.²⁴ A list of royal tents held within Berwick Castle towards the end of the reign of Edward I includes details of, among other items: a grand hall, of 240 feet in length; a small hall ‘*pur la commune*’, of 140 feet; a chapel, of 70 feet; a chapel for the king, of 20 feet; three ‘*meesons*’ for the king’s horses; ten ‘*meesons*’ for the horses ‘*da la commune*’; a chamber for the king’s meals, of 80 feet; ‘*une chaumbre de retere*’, of 50 feet; a chamber for the king to lie down²⁵ of 30 feet; and two chapels, one of 50 feet and the other of 30 feet.²⁶ These tents were presumably stored at Berwick for transportation with the army when it ventured into Scotland. The inventory shows that care was taken to provide space for the king, and to ensure his separation from his household staff and the rest of the army. The king had private chambers in addition to his own chapels and stables. These tents, therefore, ensured the preservation of the king’s privacy, a key prerequisite to the upholding of the royal majesty. Nevertheless, as a report by the archbishop of

20 BL, Cotton Nero C.VIII, fol. 212r; Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 82–3.

21 BL, Cotton Nero C.VIII, fol. 214r.

22 Ranald Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career 1327–1335* (Oxford, 1965), p. 183.

23 Frédérique Lachaud, ‘Les tentes et l’activité militaire: Les guerres d’Édouard Ier Plantagenet (1272–1307)’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 111 (1999): pp. 443–61.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 447–8.

25 Original: ‘*ou le Roy deit gysir*’.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 450, 456–7.

Canterbury from the Galloway campaign of 1300 makes clear, the king also had to make himself visible to his men. Having pitched his tents near Sweetheart Abbey, he was to be found among his army, seated at a table.²⁷ A warrior-king could not afford to spend too much time within chambers.

For the 1300 expedition to Scotland, Edward I had actually had a leather tent and 14 canvas tents newly made for the use of himself and Prince Edward in the Scottish war. At the height of the campaign between 17 June and 18 September, 28 tent-makers were paid by the king, while 30 carters had been employed to transport the tents from Newcastle upon Tyne to Carlisle.²⁸ For the following campaign of 1301 accounts survive of the king's pavillioner, Geoffrey Merith, which show that a new tent was made at Newcastle upon Tyne for the king's great wardrobe for the Scottish war, comprising three posts and 11 small porches or doorways.²⁹ These accounts provide considerable detail on the work that went into making this and other tents, with the items purchased for their construction including: 210 ells of canvas; timber and iron for the posts and cramps respectively; and three cow-hides for the tassels. Moreover, 28 tailors worked on the making of the tents for a period of 20 days, six men were employed for eight days to sew the tassels onto the tents, and ten carpenters were employed for nine days in the preparation of the timber for the stakes and posts.³⁰ Considerable planning and preparation went into providing for the needs of the king and his court.

From the reign of Edward II, in 1311, there is evidence of 15 tents purchased by the king from Sir Robert Willoughby and other executors of the recently deceased bishop of Durham. These were bought for the specific purpose of garrisoning the king and his army during times of war and cost the princely sum of £500 in total. The tents were made of canvas and comprised: a hall with seven posts and two porches at either side; a hall with six posts and two porches at either side; a chamber with three posts and three small chambers; a chamber with two posts; a chapel with four posts; and ten stables for the shelter of destriers, palfreys, sumpter-horses and other horses.³¹ These purchases were made too late to serve any purpose on the campaign to Scotland during 1310–11, but it is likely that they accompanied Edward and his army on the Bannockburn campaign three years later and might even have provided the king's lodgings on the fateful eve of 23–24 June. Edward II evidently liked making use of dead men's tents, as in January 1325 he ordered his pavillioner to bring the tents of the recently deceased earls of Pembroke and Carlisle, along with the king's own tents, from Newcastle upon Tyne to Hull.³² It is likely that these had been left

27 *Ibid.*, p. 455.

28 *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulitoris Garderobae, 1299–1300*, (ed.) J. Topham et al. (London, 1787), p. 91.

29 Original: '*portucis*'.

30 TNA, E 101/359/25.

31 BL, Cotton Nero C.VIII, fol. 54r.

32 TNA, E 43/374/(I).

at Newcastle at the end of the Scottish campaign of 1322 and that Edward now planned to make use of them.

The expedition of 1322 provides some of the best evidence relating to the tents of a king of England on a campaign to Scotland. On this occasion John de Jakesley, the king's pavillioner, received £19, 11s, 6d. towards the making of new pavilions and tents as well as for the repair of old ones for the king's expedition to Scotland. Among the items purchased for this purpose were the usual timber for posts, iron, cow-hides for the tassels, linen, coloured cloth, cords and thread; but the most interesting item in the list is what appears to be the making of a painting of the Evangelists.³³ This was possibly a portable altar, though the image might have been painted onto an oratory. The fact that the king's pavillioner was responsible for the making of such a painting suggests that it was to be transported with the tents and used as an integral part of the fittings within the tents, providing a fascinating insight into the interior of the royal tents and Edward's religiosity. A further £52, 9s, 10d. were spent on the wages of carpenters, tailors, smiths and other labourers between May and November, while the pavillioner himself, who received 6d. per day, was accompanied by two assistants, John le Butler and John Finch, each of whom received 4d. per day for the duration of the campaign in Scotland.³⁴

While the accident suffered by Edward I on the eve of the battle of Falkirk suggests that in extreme circumstances the kings of England might have to share the hardships of their men, evidence from other campaigns indicates that even in the most trying circumstances, the king and his court would seek to maintain a minimum standard of comfort and detachment from the rest of the army. On the Weardale campaign of 1327, most of the army were forced to abandon their baggage and lie out in the open. The Hainaulter Jean le Bel, who was present on the campaign, records how he and the other men 'had to lie all night in our armour beside the river, each of us holding his horse by the reins, for it was too dark to see where to tether them – and we hadn't been able to bring our carts across that terrain'.³⁵ A little later in his account he remarks: 'I can't tell you how frustrated we were about our tents and tools and baggage-carts: we'd bought them to make our lives easier and then had left them in a wood, unguarded, with no way of recovering them – we didn't even know where the wood was!'³⁶ The tenor of Le Bel's account is of unrelenting trials, tribulations and dismay. And yet we know that the young King Edward was able to stay dry during the long nights, for we are told of how at the height of the campaign Sir James Douglas 'galloped up to the king's own tent – still howling and bawling "Douglas! Douglas!" – and cut through two or three of the ropes'.³⁷

33 Original: '*facture Ewangelistarum pictura*'.

34 BL, Stowe MS 553, fol. 32r.

35 *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290–1360*, (trans.) Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 42.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

37 *Ibid.*

That the purpose of these tents was to provide for the ease of the king is made explicit in a writ sent by Edward III to his pavillioner in October 1332, ordering his tents to be brought to him at York from Hull ‘for our comfort’.³⁸ Between January and April 1335 over £418 was spent on the making of new tents and pavilions for the king on his journeys around Scotland.³⁹ That these were no ordinary tents is implied by a letter sent from Edward to his pavillioner in May 1334, ordering his tents and those of the recently deceased earl of Richmond to be sent to him at Newcastle. On this occasion Edward did not refer to his ‘tents’ or ‘pavilions’ as such, but rather to ‘our new hall of canvas’.⁴⁰ Accounts of the king’s pavillioner, John Jakesley, for the making of new tents for the king’s Scottish war between 28 August 1334 and 24 January 1335 provide some insights into the costs and appearance of these tents. The sum of £16, 13s, 4d. was paid for the dyeing of 1,600 ells of canvas and cloth in the colours of bluish-grey, green and red. These colours were created by the purchase of 2 pounds of vermilion, 2 pounds of azure or azurite, 1 pound of sinople and 2 pounds of verdigris. An intriguing item is the purchase of 6 pounds of candle-wax for the purpose of waxing leopards and baboons onto worsted cloth.⁴¹ Would it have been draped over the king’s tents for external display, or would it have formed part of the internal fittings of the tents? Described on his tomb at Westminster Abbey as *invictus pardus* – the unconquered leopard – Edward made use of leopard imagery throughout his reign, not merely as a complement to the Plantagenet arms, but as a personal symbol which appeared on seals, coins and in other media.⁴² One can only guess as to the king’s purpose in using images of baboons. It is tempting to think that if the leopards represented Edward, the baboons represented the Scots, not least as the Scots were sometimes depicted in English chronicles as “degenerates”, with rough animal-like hides for skin’.⁴³ However, Queen Philippa’s chapel also contained woven images of baboons, along with birds, beasts and serpents.⁴⁴

38 TNA, E 43/475/(I).

39 Original: ‘notre sale nouvelle de canevas’: TNA, E 403/288, mm. 6, 18.

40 TNA, SC 1/45 no. 228.

41 TNA, E 101/18/39.

42 Caroline Shenton, ‘Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard’, in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 69–81.

43 Michael Penman, ‘*Anglii caudati*: Abuse of the English in Fourteenth-Century Scottish Chronicles, Literature and Records’, in Andy King and Penman (eds), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 216–35, at p. 218. See also Thea Summerfield, ‘The Anglo-Scottish Conflict “in Romance and in Rhyme”’, in Andy King and David Simpkin (eds), *England and Scotland at War, c.1296–c.1513* (Brill, 2012), pp. 19–38, at pp. 23–4.

44 Frédérique Lachaud, ‘Vêtement et pouvoir à la cour d’Angleterre sous Philippa de Hainaut’, in Patrick Henriot and Anne-Marie Legras (eds), *Au cloître et dans le monde: Femmes, hommes et sociétés (IXe–XVe siècle): Mélanges en l’honneur de Paulette L’Hermite-Leclercq* (Paris, 2000), pp. 217–33, at p. 228.

The Court as Image: Opulence and Display amidst the Blood and Dirt

If the English Crown wished to outshine the kings of Scots during campaigns to Scotland, the best way to do this was by displaying its wealth and majesty for all to see. Moreover, the availability of largesse might be seen as one way of encouraging any Scots sitting on the metaphorical fence to throw in their lot with the English cause. The army of Edward II in 1314 reportedly lost a great deal of costly garments and gold plate on its retreat from the battlefield of Bannockburn. What kind of material goods did the royal court take with it on these campaigns, and did they serve any purpose other than to convey majesty?

One of the most obvious ways for the Crown to declare its presence in the field was through the use of banners; and while these were by no means an expensive piece of equipment, they were an important element of the message that the Crown sought to convey. While the Plantagenet arms of three golden leopards passant on a red field declared the personal presence of the king, additional banners were used to demonstrate the religious backing for the campaigns. For his expedition to Dumfries and Galloway in the summer of 1300, Edward I ordered the purchase of five lances, two to carry the arms of England but the other three the arms of St George, St Edmund and St Edward.⁴⁵ A few months earlier, in December 1299, the king had paid a monk of Durham to follow him into Scotland bearing the banner of St Cuthbert as he attempted to break the Scottish siege of Stirling Castle, while the banner of St John of Beverley was also employed.⁴⁶ As Jonathan Good has remarked, the banners of St George, St Edmund and St Edward possessed a different status from the banners of St Cuthbert and St John as these were explicitly the king's flags and were not possessed by – and therefore did not have to be borrowed from – a monastic foundation.⁴⁷ As the king's banners these were arguably as closely linked to the person of the king and his court as were the Plantagenet arms. Good might well be right that Edward had initially taken up the cross of St George during his Welsh wars because 'as the patron saint of the crusades, St George was a natural choice for a king who had been on one himself, and whose subsequent wars could thereby take on the aura of crusading'.⁴⁸ Edward I was the first king of England to employ the cross of St George in a military context against his fellow Christians, and he was therefore possibly representing himself to the Scots and his own soldiers as a warrior-king fighting in God's name.⁴⁹ Further evidence of Edward's use of religious symbolism can be seen in the payment at Carlisle in July 1300 of 16 shillings for the making of a lace curtain

45 *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 64.

46 *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51–2, 67.

47 Jonathan Good, *The Cult of Saint George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 56–7.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

49 *Ibid.*

to hang around the true Cross of Neith,⁵⁰ which the king had taken during his Welsh campaigns in the 1280s. Though the cross is not stated to have followed the king into Scotland, this seems likely given the location of the payment. Once established, some of these traditions took hold, with Edward III carrying the banner of St George into Scotland during his campaigns of the 1330s. In 1336 payments were made 'for 12 pennons with the arms of the king and St George'.⁵¹ The total production of such flags in the 1330s was much greater than this, however, as during 1333–35 the king's armourer, William Standewyk, commissioned the making of 60 standards and 800 pennons of the arms of St George, among various other items.⁵²

Perhaps equally important in declaring the king's presence on the battlefield was the armour that he wore, the significance of which for the purposes of display, or more specifically psychological impact, has been elucidated in a recent study by Robert Jones.⁵³ Contrary to what one might expect given the respective reputations of the first three Edwards, it is for Edward II that some of the most detailed armour-related evidence survives. As a prince serving on his father's expedition to Scotland of 1303–04 Edward was fitted out with, among other items: two pairs of cuisses, or armour for the thighs, embroidered with the prince's arms and silk; five pairs of gilt spurs; two gambesons, or quilted jackets, embroidered by six workmen with the prince's arms using 4,300 pieces of gold thread; two crests of gilt copper, painted with the prince's arms; and a shield painted and banners embroidered with the prince's arms.⁵⁴ In 1322, as king, Edward obtained a dozen pairs of spurs, each woven with silk and decorated with gilt pendants made of silver and iron; these were purchased specifically for the king's campaign against the Scots.⁵⁵ For this expedition Edward also paid for the repair of divers of his swords, falchions (a sword with a curved outer-edge), misericords (a type of dagger) and other knives, all of which were to be furnished, garnished and maintained in all ways.⁵⁶ For the same expedition payments were also made to Edward's armourer Hugh Bungey – who had been his armourer as prince back in 1303 – for: a helmet, bacinets, burnished leg-pieces and mailed gloves, all 'for the body of the lord king'; for sindon, silk, cloth of Aylsham and worsted cloth for various banners, pennons, arms, trappings and embroideries to cover the horses; for a pair of round chests and bags for carrying the armour; and for various other necessities relating to the king's armour.⁵⁷ Whatever his failings in war, there is no reason to doubt Edward's personal

50 *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 64.

51 BL, Cotton Nero C.VIII, fol. 214r.

52 W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven and London, 2011), p. 158.

53 Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 97–129.

54 CDS, ii, no. 1413.

55 Original: '*contra aggressum suum ad partes Scocie*'.

56 BL, Stowe MS 553, fol. 31v.

57 *Ibid.*, fol. 32r.

interest in martial activities or his bravery on the battlefield, as demonstrated by his initial refusal to leave the field at Bannockburn.⁵⁸ Already a well-built, strong man like his father, Edward would have appeared a formidable foe when encased in armour.⁵⁹

The royal banners and elaborate armour were key ways of declaring the king's arrival on the campaigning field. Yet there were lengthy periods during most expeditions to Scotland when negotiating, treating, holding counsel and accepting men into the king's peace were on the agenda, rather than fighting; in such instances as these the king would no doubt wish to appear in full splendour. In addition to the fine and costly embroidered garments used on campaigns to Scotland by king and court, discussed by Frédérique Lachaud,⁶⁰ the king could also demonstrate his wealth through jewels, plate and other precious items. For the winter campaign to the Scottish March in December 1299, the wardrobe accounts of Edward I record payments to four clerks responsible for ensuring the safe-conduct of the king's jewels from Newcastle upon Tyne to Berwick. These were transported in two carts pulled by two hackneys, suggesting a considerable quantity of precious items.⁶¹ Likewise, in October 1334 at the beginning of the winter Scottish campaign of Edward III, two packs or cases costing 27s, 3d. each were purchased for holding the money and jewels belonging to the king's wardrobe, in addition to two small chests, costing 27s each, for holding silver dishes belonging to the scullery.⁶² The mention of cash carried with the armies around Scotland suggests that it was not only jewels, gold plate and cloth which the Scots must have seized from the English following the battle of Bannockburn. In 1301, John Ocham, clerk, conducted 8,000 marks from Berwick-upon-Tweed to the king at Dunipace, while in August 1335 Sir William Norwell, clerk, was paid for the carriage of 4,000 marks of the king's treasure from York to Perth.⁶³ Although used for the practical purpose of paying soldiers' wages and making other necessary payments during the course of the war, the carriage of such large quantities of cash can only have added to the message of imperial might which the kings of England sought to convey.

Although wardrobe books drawn up during the Scottish campaigns of the three Edwards contain sections headed '*Jocalia*' where the kings' jewels and other precious items are listed, it is far from clear whether all or only a fraction of these items were taken with the kings as they ventured north of the border. The

58 Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica (1272–1363)*, (ed.) Andy King (Surtees Society, 209, Woodbridge, 2005), p. 77.

59 Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 10–12.

60 Frédérique Lachaud, 'Embroidery for the Court of Edward I', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993): pp. 33–52, at p. 48. See also, for example, Frédérique Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes in England, c.1200–c.1330', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996): pp. 279–98, at pp. 286–7.

61 *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 49.

62 BL, Cotton Nero MS C.VIII, fol. 209r.

63 BL, Add. MS 7966a, fol. 39v; BL, Cotton Nero MS C.VIII, fol. 212v.

wardrobe book for Edward I's lengthy campaign to Scotland during 1303–04, however, provides details of precious items which were offered at shrines or granted as gifts. Among the items offered at shrines around Scotland were: a gold ornament worth 7 marks offered by Queen Margaret to the arm-bone relic of St Andrew at the Cathedral Priory of St Andrews; a gold ornament worth 6½ marks offered by Prince Edward at the shrine of St Margaret at Dunfermline; and a golden clasp worth 100s offered by King Edward at the same shrine.⁶⁴ Michael Penman has noted how: 'Once across the border, Edward I . . . emerged as skilled in the invocation of an eclectic range of cult festivals, locations and relics to win the hearts and minds of both English troops and Scots'.⁶⁵ However, most of the offerings made by Edward I during the course of campaign were made to his female relatives rather than to religious shrines. On New Year's Day 1304, during the long stay at Dunfermline, Edward gave a gold brooch or clasp worth 12 marks to each of his daughters, the countesses of Gloucester and Hereford, while on the same day he gave two rings to the queen, the second containing an emerald.⁶⁶ In total the king and his family made gifts, sales or oblations of about a dozen precious items during the course of the campaign in Scotland, suggesting that a much larger horde of gold and silver, perhaps the entire amount listed in the wardrobe books, had been taken north with the wardrobe.

Fortunately, one document that does give a more complete idea as to the great wealth carried with the kings of England on their campaigns to Scotland can be found in an inventory of plate, relics and jewels in the royal wardrobe drawn up at Burgh by Sands, Cumberland, on 17 July 1307, ten days after the death there of Edward I on his final campaign towards Scotland.⁶⁷ The list is divided into various sections and covers two lengthy sides of parchment, which gives some indication of the great quantity of goods. The dorse is headed 'inventory of goods made at Burgh by Sands 17 July anno 35', then further down is a sub-section headed '*De Capella Regis*' which lists precious items found within the king's chapel. At the bottom of the dorse is a further list of items belonging to the king's spicery, followed on the front of the membrane by lists of items belonging to the king's baggage-train, relics received into the wardrobe and goods within the small wardrobe, among other items.

It is not possible to discuss this list in full, much of which consists of everyday utensils such as silver spoons, dishes, ewers and cups; however, a few items can be cited as evidence of the opulence of the royal court on its campaigns to Scotland. For example, among the items listed under the king's chapel are: a chalice of silver, gilded; a portable altar made of jasper; six silver candelabra; a little silver bell 'for the raising of the body of Christ'; a silver casket 'for the

64 BL, Add. MS 8835, fols 121r, 122v.

65 Michael Penman, "'Sacred Food for the Soul": In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306–1329', *Speculum*, 88 (2013): pp. 1035–62, at p. 1038.

66 BL, Add. MS 8835, fol. 121r.

67 TNA, E 101/370/3.

placing of the body of Christ'; three silver, gilded vessels for burning incense; a silver incense-boat; and a picture-table lined with images, among various other items.⁶⁸ The chapel contained a large proportion of the most precious and valuable items taken with the kings of England on their campaigns to Scotland. According to Michael Prestwich, it 'was a major focus for ceremonies, which went beyond the normal hearing of mass'.⁶⁹

Among the relics listed as being entered into the wardrobe at Burgh by Sands on 17 July 1307 was the Cross of Neith, taken by Edward from Wales during his campaigns there in the 1280s and which had accompanied Edward to the Scottish border in 1300, as we have seen. In the inventory of 1307 the true cross is described as being decorated with gold and precious stones with the foot, or base of the cross made of gold and gems. The next two items show that it was not only during the Welsh wars that Edward stole precious items from the lands under his control, for we find the Black Rood or Holy Rood of Scotland followed by the cross of St Helena,⁷⁰ which was another of the pieces of the True Cross formerly in the possession of St Margaret at Dunfermline and once used as talismans for Scottish armies.⁷¹ Both of these items were fabricated in gold. This shows that many of the items captured by the Scots from the English army at Bannockburn in 1314 might in fact have been stolen by the kings of England and English nobles from the Scots in the first place, although the Black Rood was not among the recovered items as it was requested by the Scots, unsuccessfully, in 1328.⁷² Indeed there survive fuller lists of precious items taken by the kings of England during their expeditions into Scotland, including a list of goods sent from Berwick to London following the first royal campaign to Scotland in 1296. These included some 30 items found in Edinburgh Castle during the course of that expedition, among them a gilded crosier that had belonged to the bishop of Ross; a cushion bearing the arms of the kings of Scots covered in red sindon; three ivory horns decorated with silk and silver; and two crystal cups or bowls, one with a gilded base.⁷³ In their quest to represent their authority in Scotland, it made sense for the kings of England to undermine the symbols of Scottish royal majesty, a process most memorably marked by the confiscation of the coronation stone of Scone. Likewise for the Scots at Bannockburn, stripping the battlefield of English armour and goods was significant

68 TNA, E 101/370/3, m. 1d. Cf. *CDS*, ii, no. 1580.

69 Prestwich, 'The Court of Edward II', p. 67.

70 TNA, E 101/370/3, m. 2.

71 Michael Penman, 'The Economics of Faith: Approaches to Monastic Saints' Cults in Medieval Scotland', in Frederico Ammanati (ed.), *Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy, 1000–1800*: Fondazione Datini, series 2, vol. 43 (2012): pp. 765–78, at p. 772.

72 Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, 'The removal of the Stone and attempts at recovery, to 1328', in Richard Welander, David J. Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy (eds), *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 199–206.

73 TNA, E 101/354/9, m. 1. The full list of items found in Edinburgh Castle is calendared at *CDS*, vol. ii, no. 840. See also *Ibid.*, vol. ii, no. 1434.

not only for the wealth that it brought to Scottish coffers, but as a mark of the Scottish victory. Comparisons can be made with the Flemings' collection of Golden Spurs from the French knights killed in battle at Courtrai in 1302.⁷⁴

There are, of course, many other dimensions to the English royal court on campaigns to Scotland which it has not been possible to discuss in this chapter, such as the entertainment of the court by minstrels and fools, and the comings and goings at court of different representatives of the English and Scottish political communities. However, the aim of this chapter has been to assess the extent to which the kings of England maintained their standards of display and majesty once they had crossed the border into Scotland on what were, after all, difficult military campaigns. The defeat of the English army at Bannockburn and the loss on that occasion of large quantities of precious items laid Edward II and his men open to charges of over-confidence. Yet, as this chapter has shown, the campaigns of the kings of England to Scotland were not only about successes on the battlefield, not least as battles involving the kings of England were rare. On the contrary, the kings of England sought to impose their lordship over Scotland in a number of ways, and representing their authority in Scotland meant, in part, maintaining the splendour of the king and court and overawing the Scots as the king travelled around the country. Although a great deal is inevitably left to the imagination when attempting to reconstruct the English royal court on military campaigns to Scotland, there can be no doubt that keeping up appearances was usually high on the royal agenda.

74 Jan F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, from the Eighth Century to 1340* (2nd edn, Woodbridge, 1997), p. 194.

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2 Monastic Gatehouses and Regality Jurisdictions

The Gatehouse as Representation of Secular Authority in Scottish Monasteries

Richard Oram

Amongst many themes in his 1982 essay ‘Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation’, Charles Coulson explored the social symbolism expressed through fortification of gatehouses and precinct walls at monasteries in southern England and northern France.¹ These ostensibly ‘military’ features in the enclosing circuits of monastic complexes, he argued, were integral to the projection of the secular power of those communities; identical expressions of lordship to those used by lay aristocrats in their castles were being deployed as symbols of the worldly power of the convents. Preliminary studies by the present author indicated similar use of lay symbolism by Scottish monasteries.² One significant difference, however, emerged in a link between possession of extensive secular jurisdictional rights – most usually what in Scotland was known as a free regality, an especially privileged jurisdictional franchise where even pleas normally reserved for royal courts (the ‘four pleas of the crown’: arson, murder, rape and theft) were delegated to the franchisee, and whose lands were immune from all interference by royal officials – and the construction of substantial gatehouses which formed the visual expressions of such franchises. Like their counterparts elsewhere, the inner precincts of Scotland’s major monastic centres were separated from the corrupting influences of the world of men by some form of physical enclosure, with points of entry and exit controlled by gates, but in those monasteries endowed with a regality jurisdiction, in the later Middle Ages, the walls and gates were given an enhanced physical presence.

It must be stressed at the outset that regalities were, at first, privileges held by an exceptional few amongst the king’s subjects. The importance of an award of such powers is underscored by the first grant to a layman being from King Robert I (1306–29) to his nephew, Thomas Randolph, in respect of his

1 Charles Coulson, ‘Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation: An Essay in the Sociology and Metaphysics of Medieval Fortification’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 26 (1982): pp. 69–100.

2 Richard D. Oram, ‘Prelatical Builders: A Preliminary Study, c.1124–c.1500’, in R.D. Oram and G.P. Stell (eds), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 1–25.

earldom of Moray.³ It was not a privilege bestowed on all and sundry and, although the number of regalities proliferated in the fourteenth century – with 25 recorded awards made between 1312 and 1404⁴ – the holders of these franchises remained a select group at the apex of Scottish political society. In respect of monastic beneficiaries, therefore, those so honoured were not simply the wealthiest and most prestigious communities but those enjoying close personal relationships with the king. Given the strongly secular nature of regality jurisdictions, however, and the contradictions and incompatibilities with spiritual status which they involved, it might seem surprising that it was amongst those monastic communities that the legal scope of regality received its intellectual and conceptual development.

As a term, regality was identified by Archie Duncan as an early fourteenth-century development, adopted from the local usage of the scriptorium at Arbroath Abbey into the formulae employed in the royal writing-office.⁵ Its origin, he saw, was a charter of April 1312 by which King Robert I conceded to the convent that their lands at Tarves in Aberdeenshire, given by King Alexander II (1214–49), should be held in pure and perpetual regality like their other properties, granted by their founder, King William (1165–1214).⁶ This right to wield jurisdiction as enjoyed by royalty was founded on the vaguely couched concession that William had made to Arbroath at its foundation in 1178. He conceded two key things: first, ‘their free court in their lands’; second, all of their possessions to be held ‘as freely and with immunity [from external challenge], just as I possess my own lands, excepting defence of my kingdom and royal justice, if the abbot in his court should by some manner of negligence fail to deliver justice’.⁷ The central concession was that the abbey’s court had authority to hear pleas that, in other circumstances, were reserved for the king’s courts, but that business would revert to the king should the abbot fail to dispense good justice. There was no more precise definition of the powers of the abbot’s court but by 1248, in a settlement with the bishop of Brechin, the abbey described its rights in the parish church of Maryton as *regalitas*.⁸ Similarly, in 1265 an agreement with the earl of Buchan concerning property at Fordoun preserved uncompromised the monks’ rights ‘in all regality which they have in the said lands’.⁹ ‘Regality’, then, was used in Arbroath by the mid-thirteenth century as a short-hand term for the jurisdictional powers that it possessed within its lands but with no greater formal definition of what had been granted in 1178.

3 *RRS*, vol. v, no. 389. See also discussion in *ibid.*, no. 40.

4 Alexander Grant, ‘Franchises, North of the Border: Baronies and Regalities in Medieval Scotland’, in Michael Prestwich (ed.), *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 155–99 at pp. 167–76.

5 *RRS*, vol. v, nos 39–41.

6 *Ibid.*, no. 19.

7 *RRS*, vol. ii, no. 197.

8 *Arbroath Liber*, vol. i, no. 243.

9 *Ibid.*, no. 247.

Nothing in Arbroath's surviving cartularies reveals how regality developed as a legal concept or what it was considered to encompass. The record relating to Tarves, the property whose confirmation to the abbey in 1312 provided the basis for the acceptance of an all-encompassing jurisdiction, gives no indication of any privileged legal position. The church of Tarves and everything pertaining to it had been given to Arbroath before 1195,¹⁰ King William's grant including rights to fiscal dues vested in the parish as well as to the kirklands attached to its church. When Bishop William Malveisin of St Andrews (1202–38) surrendered his rights to *cáin* and *conveth* in several Aberdeenshire properties – including Tarves – over which he had been litigating with Arbroath, no mention was made of the jurisdictional status of those properties.¹¹ There is likewise no reference to any privileged position in Alexander II's confirmation of that settlement in March 1236.¹² It is evident that Arbroath was set on asserting and consolidating its jurisdictional privileges at Tarves and actively defended itself against infringement by royal officials. In a letter dated August 1275, King Alexander III (1249–86) recognised its exemption from levying aids from the inhabitants of its estates, expressly advertising that recent exactions from Tarves had been given 'of grace' and in no way set a precedent.¹³ That concession by Alexander essentially confirmed the immunity of all Arbroath's lands from interference by royal servants and exemption from the imposition on them of any financial burdens.

This placing of Arbroath's lands beyond the purview of crown officers was confirmed before 1300. As Professor Duncan pointed out, it was in recognition of Arbroath's special status and the fact that his legal authority carried no weight within its lands that, in 1299, John Comyn, earl of Buchan and justiciar of Scotia, authorised the repledging from the justiciar's court to the abbey's regality court of Tarves of five men from there who were accused of theft, since competence to hear the case lay with the abbey.¹⁴ In Duncan's view, it seems that, without any formal warrant, the abbey had assumed a franchise within Tarves, to which it had applied the label 'regality'. In light of the 1275 concession, however, it seems that Arbroath was acknowledged by the crown as enjoying exceptional latitude in its powers and privileges and, while no record of a later thirteenth-century formalisation of those rights survives, their nature was understood by both monastic and crown officials. When the opportunity finally arose in the 1310s to have the ill-defined position given a clear legal validation, with Abbot Bernard of Arbroath holding the chancellorship, it is unsurprising that his abbey's terminology was adopted into royal usage.

Similar vagueness in respect of conventual jurisdictional powers occurred at Dunfermline Abbey. In the time of Abbot Archibald (1178–98), its monks

10 RRS, vol. ii, no. 318.

11 *Arbroath Liber*, vol. i, no. 169.

12 *Ibid.*, no. 171.

13 *Arbroath Liber*, vol. i, no. 246.

14 RRS, vol. v, no. 39; *Arbroath Liber*, vol. i, no. 231.

infected William, son of Enguerrand, with lands once held by his grandfather from King David I (1124–53), freeing him of services and pleas owed to them from the lands ‘just as those which are appurtenant to the royal crown’.¹⁵ The implication of this is that Dunfermline held powers over the land equivalent to those of the king. A charter, probably of Abbot Robert de Keldeleth (1240–42), makes reference to certain amercements and escheats that pertain normally to the crown but which, in certain of Dunfermline’s properties in Ross, ‘we have reserved to us by our right of regality’.¹⁶ In a third instance, from the time of Abbot Simon (1267–75), a similar reservation in respect of land at Bendochy was specifically of ‘those things which pertain to the crown of the lord king’.¹⁷ Confirmation of ‘regality’ status came in 1321 when Robert I issued a charter for a suite of possessions and rights, including that the monks ‘have and use their own cocket seal according to the liberties of their regality’.¹⁸

At both monasteries, then, although the legal basis upon which the wielding of *regalitas* was established stemmed from late twelfth-century grants, it was only in the early 1300s that what constituted regality achieved formal definition. The main association was with pleas of the crown and those things which pertained to crown right or authority. In most cases there is an explicit link to jurisdiction but the term encompassed other aspects of royal authority, for, as Duncan put it, ‘the word has no technical significance; it is “royalty” if not quite kingship’.¹⁹ The scope of an all-encompassing regality was broad and variable but common denominators were: the right to exercise royal justice, including the ‘pleas of the crown’ whose reservation to royal courts had been established in the thirteenth century; to appoint officers whose functions paralleled those of the crown’s officers (that is chamberlain, coroner, justiciar); and to conduct justiciar eyres throughout the regality lands.²⁰ The result was a franchise, where the king’s judicial function as the source of justice was delegated to an alternative authority; even though the law exercised remained the king’s law, the court itself stood outside the hierarchy of courts of the ordinary judicial system of the realm. In most ways, Scottish regalities bear comparison with English palatinates, where the franchise-holder’s power was limited only by the king’s position as ultimate superior lord, where no royal official had any authority, and where royal writs and briefs had no force.²¹ Trial of all men living within the bounds of a regality could be claimed by the franchise-holder from any other court, including those of the king’s officials; the accused was ‘repledged’ to the regality court for trial and the dispensation of judgements arising from that. The value to a franchisee was significant in

15 *Dunfermline Registrum*, no. 301.

16 *Ibid.*, no. 307.

17 *Ibid.*, no. 317.

18 *RRS*, vol. v, no. 188.

19 *Ibid.*, no. 40.

20 Grant, ‘Franchises’, pp. 167–8.

21 Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 24.

economic and social terms: it gave sovereign power over those dwelling within a regality; delivered the franchisee the whole profit from forfeitures and fines for criminal convictions in his courts; placed the fruits of all other forfeitures and escheats arising from his vassals in his hands; and gave substance to his position at the apex of a hierarchy of lordship where a dominant landholding position or direct personal bonds to tenants lower in the stratigraphy of landholding might otherwise be lacking.

While formalisation of regality jurisdictions was a product of Robert I's reign, the powers involved in such jurisdictions were only made explicit on parchment as the fourteenth century progressed. This trend was a reflection of the proliferation of delegations of royal jurisdictional powers to lay and ecclesiastical beneficiaries in the reigns of King David II (1329–71) and his Stewart successors, Robert II (1371–90) and Robert III (1390–1406). It was also a result of the need for clarity of the competence of individual lords' authority in the exceptional circumstances of the civil and national wars of 1332–57 and in the increasingly complex web of overlapping jurisdictions that evolved in post-war Scotland. For example, the unprecedented mortality amongst Scottish noblemen at Dupplin Moor (1332) and Halidon Hill (1333) raised questions over the destination of escheats arising from battle-casualties and forfeitures of men who had joined the pro-Balliol side in the civil war. In November 1333, the royal chamberlain directed a precept to sheriffs, provosts and their bailies throughout Scotland, instructing them to cease intromission in the properties and goods of the men of the abbot of Arbroath who had perished in those battles, since the abbot possessed a regality jurisdiction and the right to these things pertained to him.²² Regality here moved expressly beyond the exercise of law and justice through the abbey's court to the wider jurisdictional competence of the rights of a secular lord over the heritage of his tenants and vassals.

As Robert I's 1321 confirmation of Dunfermline's right to a cocket illustrates, regality privileges extended beyond discharge of legal functions to the gathering of revenues normally destined for the crown. Reference to a cocket shows that money derived from taxation on trade was included. That even sources of the crown's usual revenue were meant, Robert further identified the great customs on goods produced on the lands within the abbey's regality and the 1321 charter specifies the burghs of Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Musselburgh and Queensferry, and 'all their other lands whatsoever', as falling within the abbey's regality rights. Such authority was also made explicit for Arbroath in November 1352, when David II awarded it the whole great custom attached to all merchandise in the burgh, port and regality of Arbroath and confirmed its right to have and use its own cocket on goods bought and sold within the same territorial limits.²³ These privileges were detailed in Robert III's 1392 confirmation, which awarded 'the whole custom arising from whatever merchandise

²² *Arbroath Liber*, vol. ii, no. 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 24. Confirmed again in March 1353: *Arbroath Liber*, vol. ii, no. 26.

or goods in the burgh, port and regality of Arbroath, namely in all and singular lands of the said monastery wherever they should be within our kingdom'.²⁴

While only Arbroath and Dunfermline exercised regality powers down to the 1320s, Alexander Grant has suggested that the vague language of twelfth-century royal charters was exploited by other royal monastic foundations in the same manner as they had done.²⁵ He posited that Scone, St Andrews, Kelso, Holyrood and Cambuskenneth could be added, highlighting David II's reference to Scone as 'an ancient regality'.²⁶ There is, however, no evidence to support that suggestion, Cambuskenneth never enjoying such privileged status whilst, at St Andrews, the regality was originally the bishop's, not the priory's. Scone held no regality jurisdiction before David II's reign, inspections and confirmations of his father's charters made in 1341 and 1342 speaking only of 'liberties, franchises and privileges'.²⁷ Letters of protection issued to Scone in 1343 and instructing the bishop of St Andrews to investigate its internal management contradict the idea of immunity from such actions that was a key facet of regality.²⁸ The canons, however, had wide latitude and immunity from the fiscal exactions of royal officials, as David confirmed in 1363 in a privy seal letter that referred to earlier awards of such a right by his father.²⁹ It was only in 1369, when David issued letters patent to his officials confirming that Scone's regality and privileges remained intact despite revocation in Parliament of recent royal acts, that it can be shown that the abbey had gained such a wide jurisdiction.³⁰

One of the first monastic beneficiaries of a regality grant employing the terminology developed by Arbroath and Dunfermline was Kelso Abbey. In April 1343, shortly after the recapture of neighbouring Roxburgh, David II gave the abbey the burgh of Kelso, its barony of Bowden and the lands of Redden, 'with the pleas of the crown and certain [...] privileges pertaining to regality'.³¹ Accompanying this award was a mandate to royal officials prohibiting them from interfering in the abbey's lands, attempting to exercise crown rights to revenues or services within them, or enforcing suit of court in respect of them. Why Kelso received this franchise is unknown, beyond David's stated motive of pious alms, but it might reflect efforts to assert Scottish royal authority vicariously in the region. Interestingly, however, as discussed below, the abbot's court was already cited in a charter of 1342 to Holyrood Abbey as one

24 *RMS*, vol. i, no. 863.

25 Grant, 'Franchises', p. 171.

26 *RRS*, vol. vi, no. 460; Grant, 'Franchises', p. 171, note 79. There are few references to a regality of Scone, but, in 1452, King James II awarded the canons a regality jurisdiction over their lands of Craigmallie in a charter which otherwise does not mention any wider jurisdiction attached to their other properties (*RMS*, vol. ii, no. 575).

27 *RRS*, vol. vi, nos 33, 55.

28 *Ibid.*, nos 65, 66, 67.

29 *Ibid.*, no. 286.

30 *RRS*, vol. vi, no. 460; *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* (Edinburgh, 1843), no. 155.

31 *RMS*, vol. i, appendix i, no. 116. Confirmed by King Robert III, 12 March 1391: *RMS*, vol. i, no. 817.

upon which Holyrood's regality and immunities should be modelled.³² Kelso's jurisdiction was confirmed in the same terms by Robert III in March 1391³³ but was evidently extended at some later date to encompass its other estates.³⁴

Personal attachment to a community was a major consideration in regality grants made by the early Stewart kings to three monasteries with which they had close relationships prior to 1371. It is unsurprising that the first beneficiary was Paisley, the monastery founded by Robert II's twelfth-century ancestors and which remained the Stewart monastery *par excellence*. The monks were not favoured at first with an all-encompassing regality, Robert instead consolidating their properties in the Lennox into a free barony and regality in 1381, but with the four pleas of the crown explicitly reserved.³⁵ No rationale is offered for this reservation, the monks receiving exemption from all other crown impositions and from the purview of royal officials. Fifteen years later, the monks' properties throughout the Stewarts' lordships in Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire (which included what became Renfrewshire) were united by grant of Robert III into a single free barony with rights of regalia and regality.³⁶ His grant was couched in the same language of privilege as was becoming common form in the later fourteenth century, extending the abbot's jurisdictional rights over the inhabitants of all of the monastery's properties within those four sheriffdoms in all points, but it was limited explicitly to lands that fell within the so-called 'Stewartry', that is those lands held by Robert II before his accession to the throne in 1371, rather than encompassing all of the monastic estate. Unlike Robert II's award, however, his son imposed no limitation of judicial powers; the four pleas of the crown in these territories were also delegated to the abbot's courts. In 1451, King James II confirmed both awards, uniting them under a single 'full (*meram*) regality or regalian' jurisdiction, and expressly ending the reservation made by his great-grandfather.³⁷

The second case was Kilwinning Abbey, with which Robert II had strong personal bonds before 1371; it lay close to his favoured residence at Dundonald, in territory given to him by his grandfather, Robert I, before 1320.³⁸ After becoming king, he visited Kilwinning regularly and issued twelve charters there between 1372 and 1389. As a result of the loss of the abbey's cartulary and of sections of the Great Seal registers from the later fourteenth century, it is only through the enrolled Great Seal confirmation of the regality made by King James IV (1488–1513) in 1498 that the initial grant to the abbey is known to have been by Robert II in a charter issued nearby at Arneil in March 1390,

32 RRS, vol. vi, no. 60.

33 RMS, vol. i, no. 817.

34 For example, in 1539, the abbot feued its property at Duddingston near Edinburgh, which was described as 'in the regality of Kelso, sheriffdom of Edinburgh' (RMS, vol. iii, no. 2092).

35 Paisley Registrum, pp. 206–8.

36 Ibid., pp. 91–2.

37 Ibid., pp. 255–7.

38 RMS, vol. i, no. 54.

three months before his death.³⁹ It is a straightforward grant of a franchise over their lands of Kilwinning and Beath, extended by Robert III in February 1393 to encompass lands in the lordships of Rowallan and Pollock.

The final instance was Crossraguel Abbey in Carrick, where Robert III's August 1404 award reflected the king's association with Carrick, which earldom he had held before his accession in 1390, rather than the abbey's prominence.⁴⁰ Indeed, in comparison with other monastic regalities by this date, the territorial reach of Crossraguel's franchise was by far the smallest, although it extended over the abbey's entire landholding, including the island of Ailsa Craig. The jurisdiction was specifically defined as including rights of pit and gallows and also 'the four points pertaining to the crown'.⁴¹ Although it was limited in territorial range, locally within Carrick it constituted a significant block of jurisdictional privilege, a status that attracted the envy and acquisitiveness of the most powerful local secular lords, the Kennedys, in the sixteenth century.⁴²

From the above, it can be seen that there was little consistency in how regalities were bestowed on monasteries from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Some communities received a blanket jurisdiction that encompassed everything in their possession at the time of the grant and into which subsequent acquisitions were straightforwardly subsumed. Elsewhere, only specific properties within a wider portfolio were placed under the privileged jurisdiction, while in some cases the regality franchise was attached to an individual head of the monastic community and lapsed upon his death. In the case of one small priory, Pittenweem in Fife, the community became part of a larger regality when it was incorporated in 1452 into the franchise of the bishops of St Andrews; James Kennedy, the then bishop, also held the commendatorship of the priory.⁴³

A blanket award is exemplified by Holyrood, where in 1342 David II granted a free regality over all of its properties 'with full administration of the same in all things'.⁴⁴ By this, David confirmed an earlier award that gave the abbot 'his court as freely, fully and honourably as the bishop of St Andrews, abbot of Dunfermline and abbot of Kelso have their courts', which stopped just short of an outright award of regality.⁴⁵ Despite David's charter, the canons' tenants were still compelled by various royal officials to attend their courts, actions which required explicit royal prohibition in letters patent directed to the sheriff

39 Ibid., appendix ii, no. 1699; *RMS*, vol. ii, no. 2429.

40 *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel*, (ed.) F.C. Hunter-Blair (Edinburgh, 1886), vol. i, no. 22. The charter does not survive amongst those enrolled in the *Register of the Great Seal*, but reference to it in the index of lost charters indicates that it was issued from the royal writing office in August 1404: *RMS*, vol. i, appendix ii, no. 1815.

41 Original: 'cum quatuor punctis spectantibus ad coronam'.

42 Culminating in the semi-legendary 'roasting' of 'Abbot' Allan by Kennedy of Dunure. See *Crossraguel Charters*, vol. i, no 102B.

43 *RMS*, vol. ii, no. 1444.

44 *RRS*, vol. vi, no. 60. Confirmed by James II in 1450, *RMS*, vol. ii, no. 337.

45 *RRS*, vol. vi, no. 60.

and baillies of Edinburgh.⁴⁶ Additions or exchanges to the abbey's property portfolio saw no diminution or dilution of those rights. For example, when James II exchanged property in Leith for royal land near Bothkennar in 1450, the canons' acquisition was incorporated into their barony of Carse in that district and brought under their over-arching regality.⁴⁷ Such inclusive awards continued to be made into the 1500s, with one of the last being to Lindores Abbey in November 1510, which was confirmed in the first Parliament of James V in April 1514.⁴⁸ Subsequent monastic deeds underscore that all of Lindores' widespread property-holding was encompassed in the grant and that the monks possessed all immunities, rights to their own courts and to regality officers.⁴⁹

In contrast to these permanent and all-encompassing awards, David II's 1358 grant at Melrose was limited to the abbey precinct and surrounding lands, and the core of the monastic estate between Wedale and Lauderdale.⁵⁰ The circumscription of this grant perhaps reflected Melrose's position on the frontier of the contested zone between the areas of English occupation in Teviotdale and the Scottish-controlled lands north of the Tweed, but none of the abbey's lands in firmly Scottish-held Lothian, Kyle and Carrick were included. A territorially- and time-limited award to Melrose was combined in a charter of January 1426, which gave regality jurisdiction for life to Abbot John Fogo, and for the lifetime of his convent, over Melrose's estates in Ettrick, at Rodono and within Carrick.⁵¹ The charter directed explicit instruction to the king's justiciar south of the Forth and to all other royal officials not to intromit in future with these lands but there was no suggestion that the non-time-limited jurisdiction that had been given in the abbey's core properties by David II should be extended to encompass its Roxburghshire and Carrick possessions.

At Whithorn Priory, separate grants were made according to the jurisdictional status of the wider territories within which its estates were located. For the bulk of its possessions, which lay within the regality of the Earls of Douglas

46 RMS, vol. i, no. 847.

47 Ibid., vol. ii, no. 342.

48 Ibid., vol. iii, no. 12. The original grant by James IV, referred to in the James V confirmation as enrolled in the Great Seal register, does not survive in any of the extant material.

49 See, for example, *ibid.*, nos 1913 (lands in Forfarshire), 2636 (abbey's courts of justiciary and chamberlain, lands in Mearns).

50 *Melrose Liber*, vol. ii, no. 435; *RRS*, vol. vi, no. 194. David's grant of regality over these lands gave them 'pleas of the crown and all and singular the privileges that pertain to regality' as fully and freely as any other churchmen held a regality, but somewhat bizarrely and contradictorily he also specifically reserved to himself the 'four points' as things pertaining to the crown. No such reservation appears in the letters patent under the privy seal sent to royal officials in May 1359 which notified them of the award of regality and forbidding them from interfering in the abbey's regality lands, or in David's confirmation charter to the monks, dated June 1359 (*Melrose Liber*, nos 437, 438; *RRS*, vol. vi, nos 219, 237), but it was confirmed in that form by King Robert II in October 1382 (*Melrose Liber*, no. 476). As Grant has pointed out, without the right to try the four pleas, the regality was incomplete as it lacked immunity from all royal officers – in this case from the justiciar (Grant, 'Franchises', p. 168 and note 65).

51 *Melrose Liber*, no. 508; *RMS*, vol. ii, no. 31.

in their lordship of Galloway, in 1450 James II confirmed charters of the earl which gave the prior a free regality within Galloway and conceded the exemption of the burgesses of the prior's burgh of Whithorn and tenants of the prior's lands throughout Galloway from all financial exactions by his officials and from the authority of the courts of justiciars, chamberlain and sheriffs.⁵² At the same time and by a separate charter, James granted a separate regality in Whithorn's properties within the crown's earldom of Carrick, over which it already held the lesser rights of free barony.⁵³ As these widely varying approaches indicate, there was no prescribed formula for a regality. Furthermore, it is clear that an award of a franchise did not necessarily encompass the entirety of a community's landed possessions but could be restricted to a specified suite of properties.

Although regality jurisdictions were sought-after markers of temporal authority by monastic communities, possession of such a franchise vested them with powers that were incompatible with their spiritual status. The rights of pit and gallows – imprisonment and execution – that were implicit in the exercise of the secular jurisdictional powers of trial, judgement and discharge of potentially capital sentences involved them directly in the violence and bloodshed of lay society from which the founding principles of Benedictine and Augustinian monasticism had sought to secure detachment. To avoid the head of the monastic community compromising his spiritual status and vows, and to maintain the separation between the spheres of secular and canon law, discharge of the jurisdiction was vested in the hands of lay vassals of the monastery. Administration and dispensing of justice within the regality court was exercised by an official styled variously the Bailie, Chamberlain and Justiciar of Regality, who was usually a leading nobleman from the district where the monastery's lands were concentrated.⁵⁴ At Arbroath, that office was held almost hereditarily by the Ogilvies of Airlie in the later fifteenth century.⁵⁵ It was to this official or his deputies that the monastery's vassals performed homage and fealty, as in February 1492/3 when Thomas Stewart, Lord Innermeath, and Walter Lichtoun, feuar of Usan, justiciars of regality for the abbot of Arbroath, received the homage and fealty of Alexander Irvine of Drum and John Wishart of Pitarrow for the lands which they held of the monastery.⁵⁶ Within the regality court, the role of 'judex', or in Scots the 'doomster' or 'dempster', who pronounced sentence,

52 *RMS*, vol. ii, no. 383. The free regality status of the prior's possessions was confirmed by James again in June 1451 during his brief assumption of the earldom of Wigton into royal hands, but with the reservation of the prior's compareance annually at the justice eyre (*ibid.*, nos 453, 460).

53 *Ibid.*, no. 384.

54 In 1394, for example, the 'Justiciar of the Regality of Arbroath' was Alexander Scrimgeour, *Arbroath Liber*, vol. ii, no. 42; in 1409 Walter Ogilvy was 'bailie of the regality of the abbot of Arbroath': *ibid.*, no. 49; in 1494, John Ogilvy of Fingask was 'bailie of regality' of Arbroath: *ibid.*, no. 349.

55 See, for example, *Arbroath Liber*, vol. ii, nos 49, 281. By the last, in 1485, the office of 'justiciar chamberlain and bailie' was vested in the longer-living of two members of the Ogilvy family.

56 *Ibid.*, no. 337. The submission of Irvine and Wishart was given 'on bended knee with hands joined' in the house of Thomas Fife in Aberdeen, which was described specifically as a property lying within the regality of Arbroath although being physically within the burgh of Aberdeen.

was also held by a layman, and the actual exercise of justice – from distraint of goods in the case of fines through to execution of convicted men – was also necessarily the function of another lay officer, the mair or coroner.⁵⁷ To the mair also fell the responsibility of overseeing execution of precepts of sasine to new or confirmed tenants.⁵⁸ The exclusive authority of these dignitaries within Arbroath's regality had been confirmed in Parliament in October 1359, when David II explicitly reserved exercise of all jurisdictional powers within the franchise to its 'ministers', expressly prohibiting his officials – particularly royal coroners – from discharging their function over any of the monks' men anywhere within the territorial limits of the regality.⁵⁹

There is no explicit linkage between the exercise of the powers of *regalitas* by a monastic community in Scotland and the construction of physical expressions of those jurisdictional powers at the monasteries in question. Precinct walls and gates to secure the seclusion of monastic communities from the contagion of worldly distractions had made an appearance early in the development of distinctively monastic planning. Coulson pointed to what he described as 'the aristocratic proclivities' of the higher clergy as one impulsion towards the adoption of the architectural symbolism of the lay nobility to enhance the physical form of enclosure walls around their communities, but underscored also how the language of power and lordship expressed in the use of castellation was employed by the clergy to magnify the glory of God and proclaim his superior lordship. As Coulson expresses it, 'it asserted and made effective both the seignory of God and the seclusion of the ministers there in service'.⁶⁰ Divine seignory, however, was also reflected in the symbolic crossing of a frontier represented by the circuit of the precinct, which marked the separation of the lay world and 'the religious oasis of an ecclesiastical franchise', and the gates which regulated communication between the lay and spiritual spheres were made elaborate to emphasise the transitional point.⁶¹

It is striking that the two abbeys which acquired such franchises first – Dunfermline and Arbroath – were the two specified in the early 1300s as possessing imposing and strongly fortified buildings;⁶² no other Scottish monasteries

57 Ibid., nos 146 [February 1462/3: letters appointing Master Thomas Dickson mair and coroner of the regality, setting out his fee in cash and kind, and giving him the tenancy of 'the Mairland' attached to the office], 148 [September 1384: hereditary grant to Thomas Lochane and his heirs of the office of 'dereth' or 'dewar' of the abbey's lands at Tarves], 198 [March 1476/7: letters appointing John Hamilton of Braidhurst, 'justiciar, chamberlain and bailie' of the abbey's regality lands in Lanarkshire for the term of five years], 318 [November 1488, receipt issued by Thomas Dickson, coroner of the regality, in respect of his fee], 347 [April 1494, commission constituting John, Lord Hay of Yester, John Ogilvy of Fingask, Walter Lichtoun of Usan, William Hay and Adam Melville, bailies, commissaries, chamberlains and justiciars within the regality of Arbroath and 'Ethcarmor' in Lanarkshire].

58 Ibid., no. 694.

59 Ibid., no. 28.

60 Coulson, 'Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation', p. 72.

61 Ibid., p. 74.

62 *Flores Historiarum*, (ed.) H.R. Luard (3 vols, London, 1890), vol. iii, p. 311.



Figure 2.1 Arbroath Abbey, gatehouse range from north-west (Oram Collection). See plate section

are described in such terms. Unfortunately, nothing of the medieval outer gate remains at Dunfermline (discussed below), but at Arbroath the gatehouse stands almost intact, if largely roofless (Figure 2.1). It comprises a 61-metre-long block extending west from the abbey church and is made up of two unequal compartments separated by a gate pend and terminating at its western extremity in the machicolated 'Regality Tower'.⁶³ It was a secondary development to the original late twelfth-century complex, being built against

the already-completed west front of the south-west tower: at no point is its masonry bonded with the tower and it obscures the bands of blind arcading on the tower's lower stages. Lack of evidence for an earlier wall on this alignment suggests a re-arrangement of access to the precinct in the later thirteenth century, perhaps involving a southward move to ease lay entry to the church from the north while preserving the spiritual purity of the precinct: certainly, it was in this sector beyond the precinct that 'public' operations like the abbey's almonry were located.⁶⁴

Although of three distinct parts, the gatehouse is of a single late thirteenth-century build. Externally imposing, its monumental mass presents a militaristic rather than an ecclesiastical face to the world. The eastern component contains good-quality chambers facing across a courtyard to the abbot's residence. The ground floor has two vaulted compartments of unequal size, a latrine closet and fireplace in the eastern chamber, suggesting that it perhaps was high-status guest accommodation. The upper floor has been greatly altered and now forms a single space entered from an external stair near its east end, while also communicating through a doorway at the west with the chamber over the pend. Its northern façade now appears undecorated, its elevation softened only by a boldly projecting string-course at first-floor level, a single, shallow buttress at its junction with the gate pend, and a heavily-eroded and unreadable armorial panel inserted into the wall. There are only two external openings: a single slit window lighting the western ground-floor compartment and a large mullioned and transomed window of sixteenth-century form on the upper floor. Originally, however, its verticality was accentuated by shallow buttresses similar to those which compartmentalise the northern façade of the western block. There is no evidence of a parapet or any more elaborate finish to the wall-head, the existing roof ending flush with the external wall-faces.

63 Robert Laird Mackie and Stewart Cruden, *Arbroath Abbey* (Edinburgh, 1954), pp. 39–41.

64 David G. Adams, *Celtic and Medieval Religious Houses in Angus* (Brechin, 1984), pp. 16–17.

The pend and western section are offset to the south by approximately one metre from the line of the north façade of the eastern section; there is no structural reason for this change in alignment. Like the rest of the ensemble, the pend is two-storeyed but was differentiated externally by the north-south alignment of its steeply-pitched gabled roof (Figure 2.2). In its original form, it presented a grand face to the outside world: the high-arched opening of the pend on its lower level with a narrower but equally high traceried window flanked by two panels of cusped blind arcading to either side on the floor above. Over this rose a high, simple inverted-V gable; there was no parapet walk or crenellation. The upper level of this façade was modified in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century when the window was reduced to a square-headed, mullioned opening with an oculus in the apex of the infilled arch-head. The blocking was partly to allow boldly projecting corbels for a new machicolated gallery, with further corbels inserted in the wall-face east and west of the window. Above this, the gable was reconstructed in crow-stepped form. It has been suggested that these modifications were for the better defence of the gate⁶⁵ but there is no evidence for how the gallery was accessed; the arrangement seems contrived more for visual impact than function. Behind the façade, the lower storey was a four-bay, vaulted pend, closed at its north end by a portcullis and divided at mid-point by a cross wall, perhaps pierced by a gate for wheeled or horseback traffic and a smaller doorway for pedestrians. The southern end had neither doors nor portcullis. Doorways to east and west in the third bay from the north entered porters' or janitors' rooms, both now demolished, that to the east also led to the stair rising to the upper floor, which ran the full length of the pend below. It was a grand space, lit from the north by the traceried window, albeit that the opening was partly blocked by the winding mechanism for the portcullis, and by a similar but plainer window at the south end.

The western block was also two-storeyed. The principal apartments in the lower storey were divided into two compartments, the eastern originally covered by a high pointed barrel vault decorated with eight transverse reinforcing ribs; the longer western chamber vaulted in three bays and with a fireplace in its west gable. This western room is said to have been the Regality Court-house. The southern wall of the western block has been almost entirely demolished but the jamb of a doorway survives in the stump of its westernmost section, indicating that the court-room could be entered directly from the south. The



Figure 2.2 Arbroath Abbey, the pend from the north 'showing the doorway to the Regality Courtroom in the right-hand bay.' (Oram Collection). See plate section

65 Mackie and Cruden, *Arbroath Abbey*, p. 40.

principal access, however, was from within the northernmost bay of the pend, where an entrance lay in the neutral space between the portcullis arch and the cross-wall dividing the pend. As the precinct wall ran south from the south-west buttress of the gatehouse, the court-room and the Regality Tower at the western extremity of the range, therefore, projected beyond the precinct into the secular world of the abbot's burgh. It seems likely that this was a contrivance to accommodate the incompatibility of an ecclesiastical community exercising a secular jurisdiction with rights to dispense capital justice and providing a highly visible symbol of the abbot's secular lordship.

A close parallel existed at Dunfermline, where the principal entrance to the precinct was a gatehouse extending from the west front of the church.⁶⁶ An engraving of the gatehouse's south side by John Clerk of Eldin, produced in 1791 (only six years before its demolition along with the late sixteenth-century lodging above it), shows a round-arched opening from a vaulted pend which rises to equivalent height of the head of the outer order of the Romanesque west door of the abbey church.⁶⁷ The pend, which Clerk's engraving indicates had a narrowing towards its northern end probably to form separate gateways as at Arbroath, was a long rectangular structure representing one axis of a building of roughly Greek Cross plan. A Latin inscription commemorating the completion of its reconstruction in 1600 recorded that it was the remodelling of an existing structure.⁶⁸ The surviving depictions of the gateway do not permit any certain dating of its pre-1590s manifestation but the form of the archway shown by Clerk bears close similarities to the outer arches of the surviving early fourteenth-century inner gatehouse linking the south-west angle of the monastic refectory to the kitchens at the east end of the guesthouse range. Certainly, the manner in which the gatehouse and the buildings to its east about the north-west tower of the abbey church and impinge on the twelfth-century great west door suggests a similar redefinition of access arrangements to Arbroath. The entrance structure at Dunfermline appears also to have been a secondary development associated with a southward relocation of the main entrance to the monastic precinct, possibly made when the area to the north and west of the nave was given over for lay access to the parish altar in the nave of the abbey church and to become the parish graveyard. Similar arrangements were set in place at Paisley Abbey (discussed below) and St Andrews, although in the latter case with no associated parochial provision. At Dunfermline, the gate pend opened from the north into the roughly triangular close of the outer

66 In 'Prelatical builders', 16, I incorrectly identified the surviving fourteenth-century gate at the south-west angle of the refectory block as representing the position of the original twelfth-century entrance to the precinct. This is a common error: see also, for example, Roland William Morant, *The Monastic Gatehouse* (Lewes, 1995), p. 148.

67 John Clerk of Eldin, *Dunfermline Abbey and Palace from the south-west*. The building is discussed in A. Mackechnie, 'The Royal Palace of Dunfermline', in Richard Fawcett (ed.), *Royal Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 101–38, at pp. 119–26.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 121, n. 59.

court formed by the western façade of the church and cloister on its east side, the northern façade of the guesthouse to the south and the high wall of the precinct to the west.⁶⁹ Immediately north of the main outer gate of the precinct were the Constabulary and Regality Houses, the residences in the seventeenth century of the Constable of the royal palace and of the bailie-depute of the regality.⁷⁰ There is no precise record of where the Regality Court-room was located but the situation of the bailie's house on the 'secular' side of the gatehouse is suggestive of the court-room's positioning in similar fashion to that at Arbroath, as a projection out of the 'spiritual' zone of the religious complex into the tainted world of men beyond the gates.

Of the surviving fifteenth-century gatehouses at franchised monasteries, only that at Pittenweem exists as a substantial ruin (Figure 2.3).⁷¹ Here, there was probably no provision for court-rooms, as the priory and its lands had been incorporated into the jurisdiction held by the bishops of St Andrews, but the gate and precinct wall were built in a form which proclaims the secular might of those prelates. The two-storey gatehouse stands at the north-east of the precinct and comprises of a central pend flanked by two chambers; the original design of the upper level has been obliterated. The gatehouse presented a martial façade to the outer world, its heavily-corbelled wall-head originally carrying a crenellated parapet, while a now empty recess for an armorial panel probably contained the arms of the bishop. Two panels bearing the arms of Bishop James Kennedy, who obtained the charter from James II incorporating Pittenweem into his episcopal regality, are built into nearby buildings but presumably were originally set in prominent positions around the precinct to broadcast the identity of its regalian lord.

Around this date, a new gatehouse was provided at Paisley Abbey. According to the 'Auchinleck Chronicle', in the obituary given under the year 1459 for Abbot Thomas Tarvas (1445–59), the abbot had recovered the fortunes of the community, recovering usurped

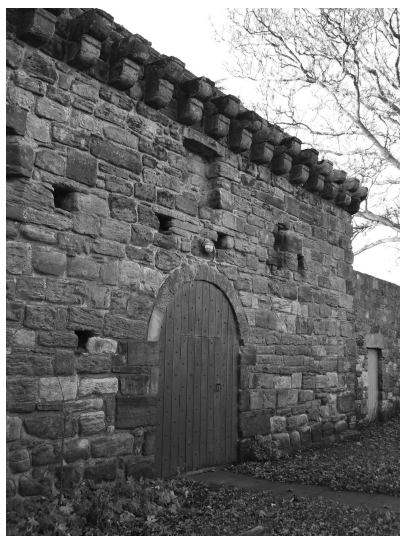


Figure 2.3 Pittenweem Priory, gatehouse from the east (Oram Collection). See plate section

69 See John Slezser's 1690s engraving of Dunfermline from the west for this disposition of buildings.

70 <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/49337/details/dunfermline+constabulary+and+regality+houses/> (NT 0892 8731) Constabulary and Regality Houses (NR) (Sites of) OS 1:500 map, Dunfermline, (1896).

71 RCAHMS, *Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan*, no. 444.

rights from the hands of laymen and undertaking building projects that restored perceptions of the monastery's dignity and splendour.⁷² Amongst his achievements was the construction of 'ane staitlie zethous' (stately yett- or gatehouse). The subsequent raising of a tower over Tarvas's gatehouse has been attributed to Abbot George Shaw (1471–99), who was responsible for the elaboration of the precinct wall with heraldic shields, niches with statuary, and inscriptions recording his work.⁷³ The heraldic panels, of which only one survives, displayed the arms of Paisley's abbots and their principal patrons the Stewarts, the source of the regality jurisdiction. This close juxtaposition of the royal arms with those of the holders of the regality jurisdiction was probably intended to stress the relationship between the two and the nature of the privilege held.



Figure 2.4 Whithorn Priory, The Pends from the south (Oram Collection). See plate section

It is unknown where the Regality Court-room lay at Paisley but the gatehouse there formed a potent physical marker of the abbot's authority at the boundary between the precinct and his burgh to the north and west. It was in this same dual role of a demarcation point between the sacred and the profane and visual symbol of the secular power of a monastic lord over his burghess tenants that the gatehouse of Whithorn Priory should be seen. Although truncated in height in the post-Reformation period, a substantial element of the late medieval structure survives at the mid-point of the street frontage on the north side of the broad market area of the prior's burgh that was laid out c.1314–18 (Figure 2.4).⁷⁴ Regality rights were conceded to the prior by the Black Douglas lords of Galloway and confirmed by the 8th earl of Douglas in 1447, with subsequent royal confirmations in 1450 and 1451.⁷⁵ The gatehouse – surviving as the pend with evidence for flanking

72 NLS, MS Acc 4233, 'The Asloan Manuscript', fol. 113v and fol. 119r. Printed in Christine A. McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 164, 169.

73 William M. Metcalf, *A History of Paisley, 600–1908* (Paisley, 1909), pp. 90–91. The inscribed panel is preserved in Paisley Museum. It reads 'Tha callit the abbot Georg of Schaw/about this abbay gart make this waw/A thousande four hundredth zheyr/Auchty and fywe the date but veir./[Pray for his saulis salvacioun]/That made thus nobill fundacioun. The line in [...] has been chiselled out but was recorded by Thomas Pennant in 1772, see Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland 1772*, Part I (London, 1776), p. 170.

74 RMS, vol. i, appendix 1, no. 20.

75 RMS, vol. ii, nos 383, 453.

buildings and at least one upper storey⁷⁶ – is probably a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century rebuilding of an earlier structure and is laden with symbols that underscore the close relationship between the priory, the crown and the bishop of Whithorn. Centrally-placed over the gate and facing directly into the burgh's marketplace is a panel bearing the royal arms of King James IV, who was a regular visitor to the shrine of St Ninian in the priory church. On the capitals of the shafts framing the archway are representations of, on the east, the arms of Bishop George Vaus (1482–1508), and, on the west, those of the prior, Patrick Vaus (1474–1503).⁷⁷ It appears to have been flanked by burghage plots and to have controlled access to the main route into the precinct from the market area.

Little survives of the gatehouses at the other monastic regality-holders. The gates of Kelso, Scone, Kilwinning and Melrose have long vanished, although charter records suggest that the main south gate at the last was a substantial structure which included a chapel-by-the-gate. The remaining gate at Lindores is of a much earlier date than the award of the regality (1510) and it is possible that no significant new provision was undertaken there before the abbey was sacked by Reformers in 1559.⁷⁸ At Holyrood, only the side walls survive of the pend of the abbey gatehouse erected in 1502 and substantially altered in the 1530s during the building of James V's palace.⁷⁹ The vaulting scars show this to have been a grand entrance-way but offer no clue to the form of its upper storeys or, beyond the royal arms of James V which once graced the wall over the gate, the visual expressions of the source of its authority that it once displayed to the outer world.

The most visually striking of the surviving 'regality' gatehouses is at Crossraguel.⁸⁰ There, the existing structure dates from the building programme of Abbot William Kennedy (1520–47) and forms the entrance to the south court of the inner precinct from which Kennedy's greatly enlarged residential complex was reached (Figure 2.5). An engraving by John Slezer, drawn in the



Figure 2.5 Crossraguel Abbey, Abbot William Kennedy's gatehouse from the north (Oram Collection). See plate section

76 Christopher Lowe and Louis Baker, *Building Recording and Survey of The Pend and 53 George Street, Whithorn (Phase 1): Data Structure Report* (Headland Archaeology Ltd, 30 September 1998), p. 9.

77 C.A. Raleigh Radford and Gordon Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkcaldine* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 28.

78 RCAHMS, *Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan*, no. 434.

79 RCAHMS, *Edinburgh*, no. 87. The gatehouse was demolished in 1753.

80 C.A. Raleigh Radford, *The Cluniac Abbey of Crossraguel* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 20–21; 2nd edn, revised Christopher Tabraham (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 23.

1680s and published in 1693, and an etching by John Clerk of Eldin, made in 1762, imply the existence of an outer precinct wall extending up the hill to the north of the core complex, with a gatehouse to the north-east of the abbey church, but no remains of that outer enclosure survive.⁸¹ Slezer's drawing shows the inner face of a tunnel-vaulted pend with a stump of a building to its east, whilst Clerk shows a much more substantial building with twin drum towers and with a further cylindrical tower at the north-west angle of the outer precinct wall. It was perhaps on those structures that any armorial panels were displayed for, although Kennedy's building forms a showy façade that was intended to 'lend an air of importance to the residence of the . . . abbot',⁸² it carries none of the additional vocabulary of power such as was expressed through heraldic achievements. Nevertheless, it presents a bold front to the outside world and was flanked by lengths of crenellated parapet wall that added to that visual effect, although its internal chambers were designed for domestic rather than any defensive purpose.⁸³ Where – if at all – the Regality Court-house was located within or adjoining the precinct at Crossraguel is unknown.

As Robert Billings expressed it in 1845, the design of the gatehouse at Arbroath 'served to remind the world with out, that the coercive power of the abbot and his chapter was scarcely inferior to their secular dignity and their temporal magnificence'.⁸⁴ The great gatehouses of Scotland's monastic franchise-holders, reared into tower-emphasised structures that adopted the military symbolism of secular lordship and bearing the heraldry that proclaimed their status as franchisees of the crown, gave physical expression to the jurisdictional rights which they possessed. They proclaimed, too, the permanence of that authority and it is perhaps no accident that the architectural enhancement of many monastic gatehouses in Scotland occurred in the period from the middle of the fifteenth century when forfeitures and escheats, but more often 'political mishaps and genetic failure',⁸⁵ had thinned the ranks of the former secular franchisees. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the monasteries – and especially Arbroath and Dunfermline amongst them – were prominent amongst a diminishing number of regality-holders. Perhaps more significantly, they continued to hold their powers undiminished, whereas the crown had elsewhere been successful in reining back the scope and immunity of the jurisdictions of many of the former lay beneficiaries. As Sandy Grant has argued, this re-engrossing of power from franchisees into royal hands represents the Scottish manifestation of J.R. Strayer's 'medieval origins of the modern state' and, for Grant, that in this respect for Scotland the Middle Ages ended in the fifteenth century.⁸⁶ For spiritual lords

81 John Slezer, 'The Ruines of ye Abby of Corsregal', *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693); John Clerk of Eldin, *Crossraguel Abbey*.

82 Raleigh Radford, *Crossraguel Abbey*, p. 23.

83 *Ibid.*, 2nd edn, p. 23.

84 Robert W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, (ed.) A.W. Wiston-Glynn (Edinburgh, 1908), vol. i, pp. 1–2.

85 Grant, 'Franchises', p. 199.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 199.

that end was delayed, with monastic regalities continuing undiminished through the first half of the sixteenth century and enhanced by new and more overtly secular architectural expressions of their powers. For the monastic regalities, the Middle Ages ended most emphatically with the Reformation.

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3 **Wheels and Creels**

The Physical Representation of the Right to Milling and Fishing in Sixteenth-Century Angus, Scotland

*Kate Buchanan*¹

There is little doubt that ownership of land brought an increase of power to medieval and early modern men and women and, further, the right to exercise control over the production of resources from that land. Therefore, the written specification of the rights to particular land was not only a valuable document from which the stated authority was exercised, but these charters also provide an explicate indication of which powers were most highly recognised. Of these, it is perhaps not surprising that powers over the land that were most clearly identified and specified in Scottish charters related to control over water based resources, a key element both for basic survival and the function of technology.

Though not all charters documented details of the property right being granted to Scottish nobles, the most commonly mentioned rights were to mills and fishing. Both of these rights are for resources obtained from water. The right to own a mill is indirectly related to water in that it refers to how the water is used technologically to move the necessary machinery, rather than what it could produce in and of itself. Fishing rights refer directly to the ability of the river to produce the resource. It is important to note that the authority over the land rested in the metaphysical right held within the charter. This did not necessarily mean that there was a physical component connected to this authority. Of course, the economic benefit would only be achieved by the physical presence of a mill or fishery, so it can be assumed that the physical manifestation of these rights was the desired goal. Archaeological remains of the sites of these medieval mills and fisheries are rare but consistent use of the same sites over time for the same purpose helps to identify some of the physical locations, where this authority was physically represented, within the medieval landscape. Although it is entirely possible that some of these water ways have changed in nature in the past five to six hundred years, consistent settlement and agricultural development suggest that this would have been limited. Attention over the centuries to these water courses and resources means that a reasonable amount of documentation concerning the location of mills and fishing rights exists, allowing

1 Special thanks to Alasdair Ross (University of Stirling) for his input on this chapter.

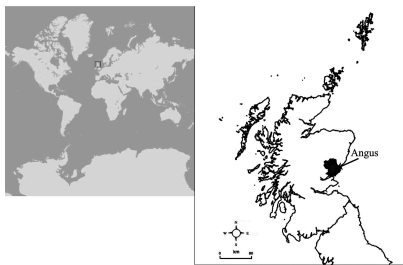


Figure 3.1 Location of Angus, Scotland (Kate Buchanan, 2014). See plate section

for the identification of the location of some of the features. Angus is a county in eastern Scotland, with the River Tay as its southern border, the North Atlantic Ocean as its eastern border and the River Esk running along the northern border (see Figure 3.1). Angus retains documentation regarding mills and fishings within the historical record, making it the focus of the study.

Due to the lack of surviving archaeological remains from sixteenth-century mills and fisheries, little is known about

the physical make up of how the power to control milling and fishing was represented in the land. McManama-Kearin's study in Ireland looked at the spatial relationship of noble Irish houses and the surrounding featured elements.² Inspired by her study to implement a similar method within a Scottish context, the intention of this chapter is to explore the locations where the right to a mill and fisheries was physically demonstrated, particularly in relation to the proximity from the main residence of the property. In this way, some of the characteristics of how these powers were represented and manifested within the landscape of sixteenth-century Scottish nobles in Angus can be determined. First, it is important to explore some of the processes and specifics behind sixteenth-century mills and fishing techniques, and how they featured in the basic day-to-day rhythms of life. Second, the specifics about the locations where the authority to control milling and fishing were exercised within Scotland are explored directly through the surviving evidence from the Angus lordships of Inverquhar, Panmure, Brechin and Finavon.

Mills and Fisheries in the Medieval World

Mills in Medieval Life

Milling technology can be used for many different purposes. This chapter addresses the two most common uses in sixteenth-century Scotland: grain and fulling. Most of Scottish milling references are to grain mills. The possession of mill rights by the lord meant that they had a monopoly of the amenities associated with milling, meaning all the grain grown within the barony had to be ground at the baronial mill.³ The tenants of the land were required to grind their

2 Kerr McManama-Kearin, 'The Use of GIS in Determining the Role of Visibility in the Siting of Early Anglo-Norman Stone Castles in Ireland' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2012).

3 Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 17.

grain at the lord's mill, providing the lord with a certain percentage of the grain or a tax, called *thirlage* or *multure*.⁴ Similarly, mills could be used for the fulling stage of processing wool and, thus, controlling the production of wool on the lord's property. Fulling is a technique applied, usually to wool, where the cloth is pounded in water to cleanse any remaining oils and to allow the fibres to expand. This is done within the mill through a system of hammers connected to the wheel. Lucas points out that, in fourteenth-century England, fulling mills outnumbered grain mills, though they hardly turned a profit in comparison.⁵ Control over the preparation of cloth was only significant in areas where wool production was substantial on the lord's property. Like grain mills, the fulling process would have occurred at the demesne mill, bringing in income to the lord. The exact proportion of the fulling mills to grain mills in Scotland is unknown, as most of the documentation does not specify the type of mill and it is known that a large portion of wool product was being exported raw.⁶ However, in some cases a fulling mill is specified, such as at Inverquhar, indicating that the production of wool cloth was a significant part of the community economy on that property.⁷

Though rights to a mill guaranteed a certain percentage of income, mills were not cheap to build and the amount of income relative to the yield of that year might barely cover the expense of upkeep. The construction of water mills took a significant amount of monetary investment. Langdon suggests that building a new mill in fifteenth-century England could cost eighty pounds with yearly upkeep on top of that. The system for water diversion and pond creation also meant that it was cheaper to build another mill house, perhaps to perform a different task, within the same pond/lade system as one that was already established.⁸ Therefore, it seems likely that if a property had both a grain mill and a fulling mill, they would be in the same milling water system, though housed in separate buildings.

Without archaeological remains, it is impossible to identify the exact type of technology built at each sixteenth-century milling site, though there is enough information about later milling technologies in Scotland to identify what would have been most common. Horizontal mills were still in use in the Angus area in the seventeenth century, but Shaw proposes that these were mostly owned privately by tenants and that vertical mills were probably more common in Scotland from the fourteenth century. Consequently, Shaw states, 'all references to mills in charters to lands must relate, by implication, to vertical mills'.⁹ Over-shot, undershot, and breastshot milling technology did not require fast water

4 John Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England, 1300–1540* (Oxford, 2004), p. 15.

5 Adam Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work: Ancient and Medieval Milling Technology* (Leiden, 2006), p. 278.

6 Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, c.1050–c.1750* (Milton Park, 1995), p. 51.

7 *RMS*, vol. iii, no. 2601.

8 John Landon, 'Water-mills and Windmills in the West Midlands, 1086–1500', *Economic History Review*, 44 (1991): p. 436.

9 John Shaw, *Water Power in Scotland, 1550–1870* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 11–12.

flow but were used according to the available amount of falling momentum regulated through water stores gathered from many streams or diverted from the river. The undershot and breastshot were used in places where there were low levels of water fall and, given that most of the water in Angus is comparatively 'low-flow', were the most common type in Scotland.¹⁰

The placement of the mill was dependant on the availability of the appropriate water level and topography, though a lade and pond system was usually created to draw water from the river or main water source and store it, to be used by the mill when needed. The mill's location within the property created a place of gathering directly on the water source for the people living and working on the property. The requirement of a particular mill to be used by the people living in a particular area created an economic centre, certainly, as the lord received a portion of the grain that was ground, but also a social hub ripe for administrative purposes. Restricting mill rights guaranteed that at least one representative of every *fermtoun*, a collection of several peasant households each with a share in the surrounding arable and pasture lands, visited the mill every year after harvest, making this an ideal time for spreading news or resolving any outstanding legal or financial issues. The mill became the central place, where significant production from the land was brought and redistributed. Not only did the mills signify wealth but they became a node for interaction from the surrounding community. Therefore, the mill was an important part of the noble landscape and community, making it a significant representation of authority.

Fish in Medieval and Early Modern Life

Fish was a common dietary option during the Middle Ages, especially in places where easy access to water and its resources was widely available, such as Scotland. Aside from the logical position as a basic substance for survival where available, fish was an essential part of the social diet. Three main social factors contributed to the popularity of this foodstuff. First, the dietary restrictions of Catholic Christianity at the time dictated that animal meat, of land-based animals, was not to be consumed during c.35 per cent of the year.¹¹ In turn, fish, meaning any creature that lived in water, was encouraged as the main protein replacement. Second, contemporary medical ideology considered a healthy diet to be high in protein where fish was a second priority resource. Third, perhaps as a result of the previous reasons, certain species of fish were considered to be an expensive, high status food.¹² The ability to consistently obtain fish became highly important in medieval and early modern society, creating a huge economy centred

10 James Headrick, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus, or Forfarshire* (Edinburgh, 1813), pp. 84–93.

11 Richard C. Hoffman, 'Medieval Europe and their Aquatic Ecosystems', *Universitätsverlag Göttingen*, 45 (2008): p. 48.

12 Richard C. Hoffman, 'A Brief History of Aquatic Resource Use in Medieval Europe', *Helgoland Marine Research*, 59 (2005): p. 23.

on large-scale production and trade through Europe.¹³ Humans have had a long history of adjusting the environment to accommodate large fish outputs, as the demand increased and populations of species declined. Subsequently, popular species changed with availability and methods for extraction altered. By the fifteenth century demand, climate and environment contributed to fish, especially salmon, being an even higher status commodity. Although religious regulations encouraging the consumption of fish as a replacement for red meat were not as relevant post-1560, fish remained a major food source in post-1560 Scotland.

Fishing methods

Although salmon was not the only fish consumed in Scotland, it was highly prized, and also a highly regulated and documented fish. Though salmon migrate to ocean feeding grounds, they return to the tidal waters of the river where they hatched to spawn. This return to the home waters can happen several months prior to the final ascent to spawn.¹⁴ The migratory patterns of salmon mean that fishing access to these tidal rivers was highly prized fishing territory and meant that there was a near guaranteed seasonal population of salmon of various ages available. There were several methods used in the Middle Ages for fishing along rivers. In areas along the mouth of rivers exposed by low tide weirs, V-shaped structures made of wood or stone, trapping the fish at the apex, were checked twice a day at low tide.¹⁵ Cruives, were semi-permanent obstructions in the river that allowed for a small number of fish to swim up the river but not back down, allowing for some to continue propagating the population.¹⁶ Other methods included nets, either semi-stationary in the river and pulled up at intervals, or pulled through the water by walking or by boat. Although salmon is the most documented fish species from this time, it is important to note that these methods were used to extract other fish types as well. Over exploitation of the fish population was just as much of an issue in the Middle Ages as it is today, which meant that regulation of the extraction of this resource was very important.

The need to ensure that the population of salmon survived a season of fishing is evident in King Robert I of Scotland's 1318 legislation stating that: 'cruives and machines placed below [the tidal line] should be at least the measure of two inches in length and three inches in breadth, so that no fry of fish are impeded from ascending and descending . . .'.¹⁷ Regulation of the extraction of fish on

13 Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000): p. 435.

14 Ian A. Fleming, 'Reproductive Strategies of Atlantic Salmon: Ecology and Evolution', *Reviews in Fish Biology and Fisheries*, 6 (1996): p. 384.

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16 Nigel Bannerman, 'Fish-trap Types: A Component of the Maritime Cultural Landscape', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 28 (1999): p. 77.

17 RPS, 1318/13 [accessed 10 September 2012].

royal lands was continually updated, stressing the concern for this resource.¹⁸ Rights for fishing on certain properties were given to nobles, often within their rights of barony, ensuring that resources extracted from that section of water belonged to and were regulated by the owner of the rights. This enabled them to exercise great amounts of authority through regulation of the production and economic benefits of fish extraction in this area. The ability to regulate the fishing was thus an incredibly important power for establishing economic wellbeing and social authority. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the rights to fishing were often specifically highlighted in the granting of baronial property.

Mill and Fishing Sites in Sixteenth-Century Angus, Scotland

Both rights to milling and fishing were clearly key elements of the economic prestige of the medieval Scottish nobility. The following section explores some of the environmental characteristics through which these powers were implemented and represented. To do this, four sites in the shire of Angus (formerly Forfarshire) are discussed to explore the physical situation of milling sites (Inverquhar and Panmure) and fisheries (Brechin and Finavon) in relation to the main residential structure on those lands.

Mill Sites in Sixteenth-Century Angus, Scotland

Inverquhar

The property of Inverquhar was given to Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse in 1420. It sits on a promontory overlooking the Quhar Burn, which is approximately 85 metres away, just upstream from its confluence with the Prosen Water, which runs approximately 160 metres to the north of the main residence. The main residential structure has been interpreted as having been an L-shape tower house, though the eastern wing was ruined by the 1840s when MacGibbon and Ross surveyed the structure.¹⁹ Now privately owned, the structure was restored in the 1970s when a new building was placed where the east wing had been and the tower restored to living conditions.

On 23 February 1541, King James V confirmed that the lands of Inverquhar, with castle, fortalice, rights to fishing and rights to both a fulling and grain mill, were given to John Ogilvy of Inverquhar's inheritors.²⁰ This list of attributes highlights the important powers related to the property, specifically the rights to fishing and mills. It is significant that both a grain and a fulling

18 *RPS*, 1430/27; A1472/1; 1535/20 [accessed 10 September 2012].

19 David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century* (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1887), vol. iii, p. 282.

20 *RMS*, vol. iii, no. 2601.

mill were mentioned, because it means that the lord was receiving income from the production of grain and woollen cloth from his property. The authority of Ogilvy's inheritors to receive income from these mills would have been made very visible with the creation of the mills themselves. As this mill system would have most likely had both mill buildings within the same pond and lade system, this mill site would have been visually complex. In order to determine more about the physical representation of authority through the mill, it is important to assess the situation of the mill in relation to the main noble residential building and other environmental surroundings.

Although there is no charter evidence for the exact location of the mill, early maps drawn between 1583 and 1601 by the Scottish chorographer Timothy Pont exist. Pont records the Inverquhar property as it was in the later sixteenth century, indicating the mill with an encircled cross labelled 'mil' (see Figure 3.2).²¹ Here, the Inverquhar property is portrayed just west of the confluence of the River South Esk to the north and the Quharity Burn to the south. Pont's drawing, estimated to have been made between 1583 and 1596, shows an enclosure around the northern side of the structure and trees both within and outwith the enclosure. The mill is situated east of the main structure, closer to the confluence of waters, on the north bank of the Quharity Burn. James Gordon of Rothiemay's map of the same area, drawn between 1636 and 1652, depicts the mill on the south bank of the Quharity Burn.²² Maps from this point onward show the mill situated in this position on the south side of the bank,²³ confirmed by an archaeological record of the mill present from the early eighteenth century.²⁴ Given Langdon's observation that the expensive construction of the lade and pond system needed to power the mills led to the continual remodelling of mills or the placement of new mills on the side of a site's older water system, it seems likely that the current archaeological site of the Inverquhar mill on the south side of the bank is similar to that of the sixteenth-century mill. Using this location the mill site would have been approximately 409 metres²⁵ from the main residence.



Figure 3.2 Timothy Pont's Visualization of Inverquhar Castle with Mill, c.1583–96, sheet 29 (National Library of Scotland). See plate section

21 Jeffrey Stone, 'Timothy Pont: Three Centuries of Research, Speculation, and Plagiarism', in Ian Campbell Cunningham (ed.), *The Nation Survey'd: Essays on Timothy Pont's Maps of Late Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Phantassie, 2001), pp. 2–7; NLS, Adv. MS.70.2.9, Pont 29, c.1583–96.

22 NLS, Adv. MS.70.2.10, Gordon 41, c.1636–52.

23 NLS, EMS.s.356, Ainslie; O.S. Forfar Sheet 50, 1961.

24 John R. Hume, *The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland* (London, 1976), p. 139.

25 All distances listed in this article are Euclidian lines.

Panmure

It is suggested that the original structure of Panmure Castle was built in the late twelfth century by the de Valognes, Lords of Panmure, and destroyed in 1336. A new phase of construction might have occurred in the middle of the fifteenth century. Sir Robert Maule added to this in the early sixteenth century with a hall and tower on the northern side.²⁶ The site is surrounded by steep slopes and rises above the Monikie Burn, approximately 20 metres away from the water.

Panmure has been a longstanding property of the Maule family. In the middle of the fifteenth century, the property was given to Sir Thomas Maule. The estate was passed on to his son, Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure, and would have passed on to Alexander, his son by Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of the 1st Earl of Crawford, but he died before his father. After commissioning some additions to the estate, Sir Thomas of Panmure granted the property to Alexander's son, Thomas, in the 1490s, who was succeeded by Sir Robert Maule of Panmure. Sir Robert Maule of Panmure was succeeded by his son, Thomas. James V, on 17 March 1540, gave Thomas Maule, son and heir of Robert Maule of Panmure, the barony lands of Panmure with fortalice, castle, mill rights and fishing rights.²⁷ Again, the power given to Thomas Maule to have a mill and, subsequently, a portion of its income, exists in this charter. The physical representation and the practical application of this power, however, exists in the presence of the mill structure. Understanding the placement of the mills in relation to the main noble residence provides an image of how this feature of power and authority was represented within the context of the rest of the noble landscape.



Figure 3.3 Timothy Pont's Visualization of Panmure Castle with Mill, c.1583–96, sheet 26 (National Library of Scotland). See plate section

As with most sixteenth-century Scottish mill sites, there is no documentary indication of the exact location of the mill within the property. Like Inverquhar, though, the property of Panmure was drawn by Pont between approximately 1583 and 1596. Pont depicts the main noble residence of Panmure as situated on the eastern bank of the Monikie Burn, near a bridge or ford and some trees to the east. The mill is depicted upstream from the main residence and bridge, denoted by a small structure labelled 'Mil of panmure' (see Figure 3.3).²⁸

26 Alexander Johnston Warden, *Angus or Forfarshire: The Land and People, Descriptive and Historical* (4 vols, Dundee, 1880), vol. ii, p. 392.

27 RMS, vol. iii, no. 2315.

28 NLS, Adv. MS.70.2.9, Pont 26, c.1583–96.

Ainslie's 1794 map shows two mills upstream from the ruinous Panmure noble residence.²⁹ As stated above, the likelihood of mill sites being moved considerably over time is very small, so the location of the demesne Panmure mill would have been near these mills. Given this placement, the mill at Panmure was approximately 730 metres upstream from the noble residence.

Fishery Sites in Sixteenth-Century Angus, Scotland

Brechin

Brechin Castle is situated on the banks of a curve in the River South Esk, only about 7-metres away from the water level. Tranter notes that Brechin Castle was so altered by later developments that nothing from the earlier phases could be identified, although fortifications have been present from at least the twelfth century.³⁰ The south-east kitchen block has the date 1703 marked on an internal lintel, suggesting that what currently stands was built within the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century.³¹ Jervise, however, states that construction at this point made additions to a previous structure, suggesting that there may be some remains of an earlier building within the current castle, such as at Glamis.³² Without further extensive investigation, nothing more than the site on which the present castle stands can be connected to earlier forms of the noble residence. Although nothing from this structure is obvious from the sixteenth century, the location remains as an important noble residential site.

In 1472, David Lindsay, fifth Earl of Crawford, was given the lands of Brechin and Nevar, with the castle and fishing rights in the 'le Halch' in front of the castle.³³ On 26 March 1541, the lands were described as having castle, mill, woodland, rights to fishing and cruives in the River South Esk.³⁴ The mention of cruives being present is a rare documentation of specific sixteenth-century fishing methods in Scotland. This also helps us to identify the location of these fishing rights within the River South Esk. A plan of Brechin Castle and the surrounding lands from 1700 clearly marks out three salmon cruives in the River South Esk, directly south of the site of the castle (see Figure 3.4).³⁵ The building material of the cruives has changed over time. The later addition of concrete made the cruives into a more permanent feature, evidence of which can still be seen today from the bank of the river (see Figure 3.5). The distance from the castle to the

29 NLS, EMS.s.356, Ainslie.

30 Nigel Tranter, *The Fortified House in Scotland* (5 vols, Edinburgh, 1970), vol. iv, p. 172.

31 John Wood, *Description of Atlas of Principal Towns of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1828), p. 58.

32 Andrew Jervise, *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns: An Account Historical, Antiquarian, and Traditionary* (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. 125–7.

33 RMS, vol. ii, no. 1111.

34 RMS, vol. iii, no. 2320.

35 NRS, RHP35168, Plan of Brechin Castle and the surrounding parks, Angus (1700).

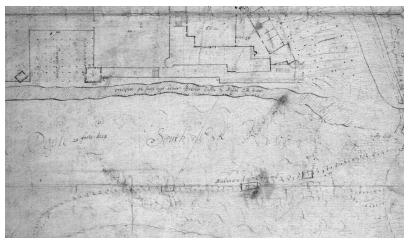


Figure 3.4 Plan of Brechin Castle Showing Salmon Cruives in the River South Esk, c.1700 (National Records of Scotland). See plate section



Figure 3.5 Photo of Current Evidence for a Fishing Cruive in the River South Esk at Brechin, 2013 (Buchanan Collection). See plate section

cruives in the river ranges between approximately 20 and 45 metres, depending on which of the three cruives depicted in the 1700 plan are being considered.

Finavon

The site of the old Finavon Castle sits about 23 metres away from the water on the south bank of the Lemno Burn, approximately 400 metres up-stream from the confluence of the burn with the North Esk river and approximately 140 metres east of the modern mansion. It has been a ruin since before 1750 and is currently a heavily overgrown wooded area. The lack of the south wall of the tower and many of the other structures is shown in a 1750 oil painting of Finavon but the exact date of its fall is unknown.³⁶ Simpson suggests that it fell while still in use, as his excavation in 1952 revealed a substantial amount of broken crockery, glass and presumably full-before-broken wine bottles.³⁷ MacGibbon and Ross labelled it as being part of an L-Plan tower house, measuring the inside rooms of the remaining tower to be 4.87 metres square and 15

metres high.³⁸ Finavon is in poor condition now but it was the main seat of the Earls of Crawford and was a sizable and significant noble residence.

James V, on 16 October 1541, gave to David Lindsay of Edzell the lands and barony of Finavon, with manor house and rights to mill and fish.³⁹ On 2 March 1546, these lands were given to David Lindsay, with the description of tower, fortalice, manor house, rights to mill and fishing, and woodland.⁴⁰ It is clear that the ownership of these lands included authority over the fishing rights. Although there is no description of the boundary of these fishing

36 Oil painting, 1750, in W.D. Simpson, 'Finavon Castle', *PSAS*, 89 (1956): p. 416.

37 Simpson, 'Finavon Castle', p. 400.

38 MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, Vol. 3, p. 594.

39 *RMS*, vol. iii, no. 2484.

40 *Ibid.*, no. 3231.

rights, the popular modern fishing beat location and names associated with Finavon suggest the parameters of the original rights associated with the land. Figure 3.6 shows the fishing beat titled ‘Castle Beat’ in orange along the north bank of the River South Esk, covering a bend in the river. The identification of the ‘Castle Stream’ pool on the westernmost point of this beat is approximately 380 metres away from the ruined castle. The easternmost point of this beat is situated approximately 998 metres away from the castle.⁴¹

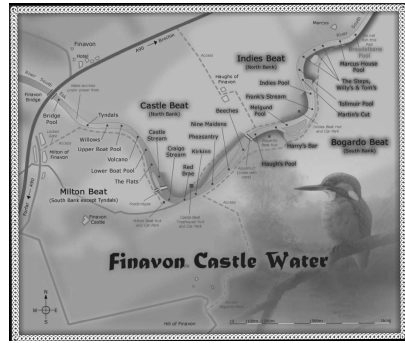


Figure 3.6 Image of Fishing Beats Highlighting those for Finavon Castle (Tony Andrews). See plate section

Conclusions

All of the sites covered in this piece are situated within 400-metres of waters where they have major rights to resources. Being close to a water source has its obvious benefits but it is perhaps more interesting that both the identified mills and the fisheries are within a kilometre of the lord's main noble residence. The distance between these sites and the main noble residence is consistent with the finding of McManama-Kearin, who observed that Irish Tower-houses were focused on gaining visibility over a kilometre from the tower-house, a distance within which major components were mainly kept.⁴² Although this is not the case for all of the major noble residences in Angus,⁴³ there does seem to be a trend toward keeping the physical manifestations of their control over these water based resources close to the main residence.

Depending on the level of forestation, these close distances suggest a possibility of the mills and fishing beats being visible from the noble residence and vice versa, which Creighton has pointed out as being a powerful demonstration of authority.⁴⁴ It is important to note that Pont drew trees around both Inverquhar and Panmure, while the charters refer to woodland resources for both Brechin and Finavon. Tree growth might have obstructed the views, though it is impossible to tell without further archaeological assessment of the area surrounding these sites. Pont, however, marks the majority of the trees on the other side of the mill at Inverquhar and all the trees at Panmure. The small distance

41 Tony Andrews, 'Finavon Castle Water', <http://www.finavoncastlefishing.co.uk/> [accessed 12 March 2013].

42 McManama-Kearin, 'The Use of GIS', p. 153.

43 See Katherine Buchanan, 'The Social, Geographical, and Structural Environments of Minor Noble Residences in Angus, 1449–1542' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2014).

44 Oliver H. Creighton, 'Room with a View: Framing Castle Landscapes', *Chateau Gaillard*, 24 (2010): pp. 37–49.

between Brechin and fishing cruives and the height of Finavon suggests that tree growth would not have impeded the views. It is possible, then, that these three types of representations of authority are working together to completely demonstrate the lord's control over the land. The mill, or mills, and active fishing demonstrated the extent of the lord's authority over the land from the main residence itself and the lord's power over the mills and fisheries was confirmed by the visible presence of the noble residence in the background. Given the height of Finavon, it seems particularly suited to a visual survey of the various resources available to the Lindsays.

Therefore, it seems that the positioning of the mills and fisheries within the bounds of the lord's demesne lands, particularly in the case of the mills, draws the people living on his land to the area surrounding the main residence. Not only does this allow for more immediate control over these resources but it also ensures that the physical representations of authority of mills, fisheries and noble residences are noticeably present in the yearly rhythms of those living on and visiting the demesne land. In this way, the natural presence of water is used to create a system of exercising and demonstrating power, where physical representations of the lord's power and authority are visibly present throughout the surrounding environment.

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4 A Contested Space

Demonstrative Action and the Politics of Transitional Authority in Glasgow 1650–1653

Kirsteen M. MacKenzie

Many contributions in this volume examine representations of authority in fixed places or by specific individuals in situations where symbolic images, ceremonies or actions are created to communicate, reinforce and maintain an image which the individual or place would like to convey to the wider public for the benefit of themselves. Within these representations, there are explicit and implicit messages which have a specific purpose or function. Often, the creation and projection of authority can take many forms, be it through images, words, physical actions or inactions. It also has to be recognised that, where there is often a projection of authority, there is often an opposing force which seeks to challenge the message being conveyed. Nowhere are the many representations of authority and the opposing forces more obvious than in a contested space. Political geographers have long recognised the complicated power relationships behind the projection of authority in contested spaces, especially within disputed territories where ‘countless processes of domination and resistance which are always implicated in, and mutually constitutive of, one another’.¹

Indeed, political geography is essentially about the ‘relationships between power, place and space’ and general observations and conclusions made by political geographers on these complicated relationships can add fresh insights into contested spaces within a historical context.² There is general acknowledgement that contested spaces can be highly politicised, with power exercised and presented in a variety of ways to achieve certain goals. In a local context, the representations of power within spaces are often ‘socially constructed’ through the interaction of individuals and groups in response to events, existing traditions and new challenges. Thus, with continuous interactions, spaces will always

1 Joanne P. Sharp et al., ‘Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination and Resistance’, in Sharp et al. (eds), *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination and Resistance* (London, 2000), p. 1; David Storey, *Territory: the Claiming of Space* (Harlow, 2001), p. 6; Richard Muir, *Political Geography: A New Introduction* (London, 1997), p. 6.

2 Joe Painter, ‘Geographies of Space and Power’, in Kevin R. Cox, Murray Low and Jennifer Robinson (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Political Geography* (London, 2008), p. 57.

be contested as rival and multiple representations of authority emerge and challenge each other. In addition, the transfer of power or authority between individuals and groups in contested places does not mean the clear transfer of power from one authority to another. Instead, it becomes a mixed response towards previous and new sources of authority. Therefore, regardless of how dominant or how well the various agents represent their authority within the given space, the transfer of power is never complete.³

In a historical context, the politics of contested space and the projections of competing representations of authority can be seen clearly in situations of military conquest and occupation. A new and often alien force from the outside challenges the long established authority in a given area to displace or manipulate existing representations of authority to its own advantage. Often this is achieved through the domination and control of social and political structures. In these situations, resistance to the new authority by individuals, groups and institutions which are still loyal to the old order can occur. Although the presence of the new order may be highly visible and active, this does not mean that the projections of their authority will be successful. Recognition of authority can be fluid and determined by changing events, needs and beliefs.

The military occupation of Glasgow by the forces of Oliver Cromwell between 1650 and 1653 provides an insight into the complexities of transitional power within a local context and the variety of competing representations of authority from new and established groups, individuals and institutions, which were determined by a combination of long held traditions and beliefs, changing circumstances, practical actions and a respect for local governance in the face of outside or 'alien' pressures. The incorporation of the City of Glasgow with its interconnected Covenanting networks into the political structures of the English Republic was a highly complicated affair which was left incomplete by competing representations of authority.

Military Occupation and Local Government before Cromwell: For King or for Covenant?

It is generally agreed by historians that, compared to other cities in Scotland, such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee, Glasgow had a relatively stable time during the civil wars, as it was not a continual scene of mob rule, violence and plunder. Both the Royalist and Covenanter factions continually sought to occupy, claim and reclaim cities, often by force. During the 1640s, despite being

3 Martin Jones, Rhys Jones and Michael Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography: Space, Place and Politics* (London, 2004), pp. 99–111; Kevin R. Cox, 'Spaces of Dependence, Spaces of Engagement and the Politics of Scale, or: Looking for Local Politics', *Political Geography*, 17/1 (1998): pp. 1–4; David Storey, *Territory: The Claiming of Space* (Harlow, 2012), pp. 1–19; Joanne P. Sharp et al. (eds), 'Entanglements of Power', pp. 8–20.

substantially behind Edinburgh, Glasgow's economy and trade continued to grow.⁴ It is interesting that, during the civil wars, Glasgow was only significantly occupied by military forces on one occasion, by the Royalist forces of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose after their victory at Kilsyth in August 1645. However, the Marquis had in fact been invited into the town by prominent members of the burgh who were anxious to limit any punishment from Montrose for the town's disloyalty. This appears to have been successful and plunder and destruction did not materialise. In fact, when Montrose entered the city, he was greeted with enthusiasm by the inhabitants. His army asked the inhabitants to give them provisions and, in return, they would offer the inhabitants protection. This was a very symbolic gesture by Montrose in order to bring Glasgow over to the Royalist cause.⁵ Indeed, for the Royalists, Glasgow had become a symbol of rebellion, sedition and chaos. It was there, in 1638, for the first time, that some of the king's Scottish subjects had openly defied their monarch by ignoring orders to close the General Assembly of Scotland and continued to sit passing religious legislation, which conflicted with the aims of the king's government in Scotland. In 1645, however, Glasgow allowed Montrose to summon a Parliament in the town. For the Royalists, this was a return to law and order after the treasonable parliaments, confusions and oppressions of the past and, in order to win support, Montrose offered a pardon to those who chose to attend. Indeed, by all accounts, Montrose's proclamation did not attract any open resistance and the burgh was quite happy to acquiesce to his demands. On that occasion, Glasgow did not become a contested space.⁶

This is all the more surprising when we consider that the Covenanting government still had a significant presence in the town. Interdependent relationships existed between the local churches, the burgh and the university. These were connected to their respective national commissions, organised by the Covenanting government. The burgh, overseen by the Covenanting parliaments,

4 Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 11–14; Thomas M. Devine, 'Introduction: the Development of Glasgow to 1830: Medieval Burgh to Industrial City', in Thomas M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow: Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 6–9; James McGrath, 'The Medieval and Early Modern Burgh', in Thomas M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow: Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 41, 55; Andrew Gibb, *Glasgow: the Making of a City* (Beckenham, 1983), pp. 36–7.

5 David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637–44: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 116–26; David Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter Revolution 1644–51* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 21–38; Mark Napier, *Memorials of Montrose and his Time* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1850), vol. ii, pp. 512–13, 553; Henry Guthry, *The Memoirs of Henry Guthry* (Glasgow, 1747), p. 194; *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow M.DC.XXXVII–M.DC.LXII*, (ed.) David Laing (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1842), vol. ii, p. 314.

6 Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution*, pp. 116–26; *State Papers of John Thurloe*, (ed.) Thomas Birch (7 vols, London, 1743), vol. i, p. 70; Kirsteen M. MacKenzie, 'Restoring the Nation? Hamilton and the Politics of the National Covenant', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 36 (2011): pp. 86–7; John Spalding, *The History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, from M.DC.XXIV to M.DC.XLV* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1828), vol. i, p. ix; Henry Guthry, *The Memoirs of Henry Guthry*, pp. 45–50.

was empowered to elect magistrates. There were contracts between ‘town and gown’ over academic appointments and the burgh would provide stipends for academic staff to preach. The Baillies, the Dean of Guild, the Deacon Convener and five other appointed members of the Council had meetings with the Kirk to discuss vacant appointments and approved the appointments by ‘reasoning or voting’. Donations for the churches came via the burgh and repairs to the church fabric were also initiated by the Council. Many ministers were clearly dependent on the burgh for their livelihoods and, in return, bursaries were given to merchants’ sons for their education. As to be expected, many ministers in the burgh had strong links to the University of Glasgow, either as graduates or officers. For example, the minister of The Barony was Zachary Boyd, a long serving minister who became Vice-Chancellor of the University and William Wilke, minister for Govan, who was a Regent at the University and one of the visitors to the University in 1641. Again, his successor, Hugh Binning, was another Regent of the University. George Young, at the Collegiate Church of the Tron, became an assessor to the Dean of Faculty in 1648. Therefore, it was a well-established and interconnected network maintaining local governance within Glasgow. Testimony to the effectiveness of this system is the ejection of ministers who complied with Montrose after Kilsyth. These ejections were symbolic for the Covenanting government as it reasserted its authority over the town.⁷

It is also important to note that the town was comfortable with a military presence, even though it had its own armed guard or militia. Montrose had allowed the burgh to continue using its own armed guard for the town’s protection, in the hope of avoiding open conflict and also to gain further support. It is clear, when examining the burgh records between 1645 and 1650, that Glasgow had effective plans for raising armed men and providing for armies who had stopped in Glasgow on route to their respective destinations. Military presence alone did not cause conflict within the town.⁸

Resistance and Inaction: The Creation of a Contested Place and Opposing Representations of Authority

Between July 1650 and September 1651, Scotland was embroiled in a war between the English invasion forces of Oliver Cromwell and the Royalist Covenanting forces of Charles II. During this period many towns and cities in Scotland became contested spaces, as the Royalist-Covenanting forces aimed to retain control over key towns and the Cromwellians sought to

7 *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1630–1662*, (ed.) J.D. Marwick (3 vols, Glasgow, 1881), vol. ii, pp. 43–65; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, (ed.) Hew Scott (7 vols, Edinburgh, 1920), vol. iii, pp. 381, 386, 392, 411, 477.

8 *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, pp. 90, 94, 100, 112, 116, 130, 144, 148, 168, 171; Napier, *Memorials of Montrose*, p. 554.

capture them. Glasgow, in contrast to its experience in the 1640s, became a flashpoint of differing projections of authority. These projections could be displayed and communicated in a variety of ways, be it in words, actions or inaction by Glasgow's ruling elite in response to the advances of the English army which were aimed at winning the hearts and minds of the people of Glasgow.

Oliver Cromwell attempted a full on charm offensive as he approached Glasgow in October 1650, declaring 'no wrong or violence will be offered unto you' and offering accommodation between the city and the English army. In response to the summons, Glasgow's elite fled from the town. Indeed, within the burgh records, normal business is noted as being 'constrained'. John Nicoll suggests it was out of fear and respect for the Covenanting authorities in the town, citing the previous punishments for compliance with Montrose. Indeed, the fear of compliance was so great that the prominent Presbyterian minister Robert Baillie fled to the Isle of Cumbrae off the Ayrshire coast, leaving his family and goods behind. Not all ministers reacted in the same way. Zachary Boyd, Glasgow's leading academic and preacher, stayed behind, giving a thundering sermon and condemning English actions in front of Cromwell in the High Kirk. Baillie found it somewhat astounding that Cromwell believed that he alone could come and 'gain' the people of Glasgow, as Baillie suspected, on the basis of a few words from Archibald Strachan, Cromwell's only long term key contact within the Western Association (a military force commanded and organised by the staunch Covenanters in the West of Scotland). On hearing of Royalist advances in the east and knowing that his attempts to build an accommodation were doomed to failure, Cromwell turned back to Edinburgh. Afterwards, the burgh supplied Dumbarton Castle with materials for its defence and proceeded to elect commissioners for the Scottish Parliament. Clearly Cromwell's attempt to project the authority of the English Republic onto the City of Glasgow was met and challenged by existing traditional structures, networks and institutions.⁹

By November 1650, the English army had garrisoned itself near Glasgow and, in complete contrast to the negotiations with Montrose in 1645, the Provost became very anxious to avoid any hint of compliance with the English forces. Subsequently, all members of the Council openly declared their exoneration from dealings with the English forces, as they did not want to assist the 'oppressors'. In a heavy-handed attempt to draw Glasgow into communication, the English forces demanded the payment of cess – that is, a tax towards the upkeep of English forces. This request was met with stony silence and inaction,

9 *A Diary of Public Transactions and Occurrences Chiefly in Scotland, from January 1650 to June 1667* by John Nicoll, (ed.) David Laing (Edinburgh, 1835), pp. 30–31; *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 119–20; Kirsteen M. MacKenzie, 'Oliver Cromwell and the Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms', in Patrick Little (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives* (London, 2008), p. 153; GCA, C1.1.1.(12), Council Minutes 1, 3, 5, 7, 20 October 1650 (no folio numbers on manuscript).

undermining the English army's authority through non-compliance. Furthermore, as Robert Lillburne (then a member of the English garrison at Hamilton) stated, the display of defiance by Glasgow concurred with the rumours circulating at the time. 'But I heard, this day, that they shortly intend (with what strength they can make) to visit us here, and afterwards to make their head quarters att Glasgow. I conceive that there designe will be (as soon as they are in any posture) to lye as near and as close as they can, to put us upon extreme duty and hardshipp, thinking thereby to weary and to sterve us'.¹⁰

Indeed, as the burgh records confirm, the Council did not give any provisions to the English forces but gave substantial money and resources to the king instead. This clearly had an effect on the relationship between the English army and the town and so serious was the disorder amongst the English troops stationed around Glasgow that it was brought to the attention of the Council of State in London. A few days after Lillburne's letter, in retaliation for Glasgow's non-compliance, the English army again asserted its authority by arresting and taking prisoner John Coutts, a man on the town's business. When he was released, the Council compensated the man for his losses. A pattern of retaliation started to emerge as both agencies of authority began to compete with each other creating a vicious cycle of domination and resistance which is a common feature within disputed territories.¹¹

Clearly, by their tactics, the English forces were alienating the town's elite, rather than winning hearts and minds. Less than two weeks before Oliver Cromwell's second entry into Glasgow, at the beginning of April 1651, the city received a letter from the Duke of Hamilton thanking them for their loyalty to the king.¹² Unsurprisingly, the second visit of Oliver Cromwell was not the success the English forces had hoped for, as a letter from an English army officer stated: 'We are at Glasgow with the army what we shall do next we know not. Ld General and officers had a conference yesterday with the ministers of this place but little satisfaction amongst them'.¹³ The news reports in London were unsure whether Cromwell had a game plan but Cromwell kept to his original strategy, lessening any bloodshed through debate and discussion. This was done by organising conferences to debate Scotland's adherence to Presbyterian Church Government and the Covenants with Cromwell's forces advocating the benefits of liberty of conscience. These showcase events were not unknown to Presbyterians, particularly in Glasgow, as Robert Baillie had been embroiled in similar debates in London as a member of the Westminster

10 *Original Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell*, (ed.) John Nickoll (London, 1743), pp. 48–9; *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, pp. 196–7; David Stevenson, 'Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland', in John Morrill (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London, 1990), pp. 160–61.

11 *CSPD 1650; Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, p. 197.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

13 *Letters from Roundhead Officers written from Scotland and chiefly addressed to Captain Adam Baynes July 1650 to June 1659*, (ed.) John Y. Akerman (Edinburgh, 1856), p. 18.

Assembly in the 1640s. It was due in part to Baillie's frustrated correspondence from London that Cromwell was already well known for his methods of persuasion. Therefore, the ministers were able to prepare well for Cromwell's arrival in April 1651.¹⁴ Unlike the previous visit in October, the inhabitants did not remove themselves from the town but this was not a sign that Glasgow had capitulated to the English army. As Cromwell toured the major churches in the city, he was greeted by thundering sermons delivered by the foremost preachers and academics in the city including John Carstairs, Robert Ramsay and James Durham. All preachers gave an open testimony against the English forces, declaring the invasion to have no basis in Scots law and that it showed a disregard for the Covenants and customs of Scotland. The ministers also declared against the errors of the sectaries, persecution of their Presbyterian brethren in Ireland and the destruction of the Presbyterian faith in the three kingdoms. James Durham, in full view of Cromwell, prayed for divine assistance to give the king success to 'stop the mouth of his enemies'.¹⁵ In doing so, the ministers of Glasgow unpicked English justifications for the invasion and openly declared a continued adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant, focusing on upholding a mutual and balanced union between Scotland and England. In Glasgow, Scots law and the Covenants stood firm against military aggression.

After hearing the sermons, Cromwell invited the ministers to discuss their opinions with him in a private conference. The conference took place four days later and lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon until eight o'clock in the evening. It is clear from reports given by both sides that Cromwell's attempt at friendly persuasion had failed. James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie, both leading members of the Protester faction from the West, led the Presbyterian charge. The Protester, or Remonstrant, faction was the minority faction which believed that the defeat of the Covenanters at Dunbar was a punishment from God, as Charles II and his Royalists had not been sincere in their pledge to uphold the Covenant. In addition, because of their hostility to Charles II, Cromwell saw the Protesters as a faction he could convert to the English cause. For the best part of the debate, Guthrie and Gillespie held fast and continued to argue that the English invasion was a breach of the Covenant and concluded they could be 'satisfied in their own judgements'. Proceedings ended with an avoidance of further oral debates over ordinances and with an acceptance of 'information' or written objections instead. These objections were to be submitted to the English forces at the ministers' discretion. It is clear that Cromwell's method to promote English military authority failed and his accommodation was rejected.

14 *Mercurius Politicus*, 24 April to 1 May 1651, 753, 758; MacKenzie, 'Oliver Cromwell and the Solemn League and Covenant', pp. 149–50; Stevenson, 'Oliver Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland', pp. 159–61; Scott Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 54–71.

15 *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 165–6; *The Faithfull Scout*, 2 May to 9 May 1651, p. 154; *A Perfect Account*, 30 April 1651 to 7 May 1651, pp. 133–4; MacKenzie, 'Oliver Cromwell and the Solemn League and Covenant', p. 158.

An alien force had been repelled successfully by existing socially constructed networks.¹⁶

Cromwell's ten day visit to Glasgow was over and he returned to the east coast. In part, his return was due to a lack of provisions, aided by Glasgow's refusal to comply with English demands. It is clear that, despite his own wishes, Cromwell left behind a hostile city which continued to supply Dumbarton Castle for its defence against English forces and organised a commissioner to attend the Scottish Parliament. However, as Cromwell's forces withdrew, a new self-proclaimed authority began to emerge which challenged long established interconnected networks between the burgh, church and university. Although this new authority would later assist the English Republic in its attempts to assimilate Glasgow into England's political structure, unforeseen events and an abrasive stance prevented the town's full incorporation into the English Republic.

As Cromwell removed his troops from Glasgow, the Hamilton garrison demanded that the town pay cess. In doing so, Glasgow would openly acknowledge English authority over Scotland. If Glasgow did not pay, the garrison threatened to plunder the city. In response, the magistrates left the town but some burgesses of Glasgow, seeing the danger of an English army on their doorstep, created a committee and organised the payment of cess. The Provost had the committee leader arrested for breach of due process but the ministers advised that, with the English still in the town, the magistrates should keep a low profile. Despite this, the burgesses were severely punished by the magistrates for usurping their authority in their absence. As the Provost, Baillies and Council emerged from the church where the hearing had taken place, they were greeted by an assembled group of troops aligned with the Western Association who had been forewarned of the burgesses' predicament. The Provost reasserted his authority by demanding the arrest of the five young men in question but, mocking him, they stated that as burgesses they could not be arrested. This resulted in an altercation which had to be broken up by English troops. Robert Baillie declared the altercations were due to the actions of Patrick Gillespie.¹⁷ This episode should not be dismissed as a simple brawl between five young burgesses but the beginnings of the loosening of the interdependent networks in Glasgow that underpinned the elite's authority and power, highlighting that socially constructed networks change in response to immediate events or dangers. This episode also highlights the cracks appearing within city governance, despite seemingly staunch resistance to military occupation. A minority, seemingly upon the advice of Gillespie, took a different approach to the English army, thereby giving Gillespie prestige and standing in direct competition with the burgh itself.

16 *The Faithfull Scout*, 2 May to 9 May 1651, p. 154; *Mercurius Politicus*, 1 May to 9 May 1651, pp. 773, 779.

17 *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 161–5; GCA, C 1.1. (12), Council Minutes, 6 May and 21 May 1651 (no folio numbers on manuscript).

Fire and the Politics of Incorporation: Competing Representations of Authority

In spite of the occupation of Glasgow by Cromwell, the city continued to pay the king substantial amounts of money. On 22 April, Hamilton again thanked the town for its loyalty to the king. However, it is significant to note that, following the payment to the English army on 30 April, the town clearly had a problem in meeting the king's requests for further financial assistance. In May, the king had requested more money from the burgh and a meeting was held in the Dean of Guild's house to discuss the 'missing' payments. The burgh had no money but was willing to take out loans in order to raise the money, based on the town's security. In June 1651, the burgh continued to raise money for the king's cause. It is clear that Glasgow was still loyal to the monarch, despite the presence of English forces in the surrounding area. In retaliation, Glasgow was issued with a £900 fine for 'disloyalty'.¹⁸

It is only after the rout of Charles II's army at Worcester on 3 September 1651 that the burgh's attitude to the Cromwellian forces began to change, but only ever so slightly. On 20 September 1651 the Provost visited the English forces, bringing a small amount of money with him. Less than a week later, the burgh received a threatening letter from the English garrison at Stirling demanding the payment of cess. The Provost decided to visit the garrison in person to prevent any further misfortune to the town. From December 1651, the burgh also began to compensate townspeople for quartered English forces. To all intents and purposes, it looked as if the burgh had finally accepted English military presence in Scotland.¹⁹

Perhaps, at this juncture, it is timely to discuss the rise of Patrick Gillespie and the concern expressed within the town's elite. Patrick Gillespie was the younger brother of the famed George Gillespie, leading theologian and member of the Westminster Assembly. Patrick was invited to fill a vacancy in the Burgh of Glasgow in 1647 and, within two years, he received a substantial stipend drawn from lands all over the town. It seems that he very quickly gained a favourable reputation amongst the small independent landowners of the town and by 1651, according to Baillie, this allowed Gillespie to 'carie what he pleased'.²⁰ Indeed, Gillespie was a very assertive character and had a clear drive for leadership. Patrick Gillespie was one of the leading Remonstrants, those within the Kirk that declared that Charles II had not been ready to take the Covenant. He was a key figure in the founding of the Western Association, a force which was to be 'ruled by themselves alone'. Gillespie, Sir John Chiesly and three Glasgow burgesses would convene their own meetings away from the

18 *Extracts from the Burgh of Glasgow*, pp. 204–12; *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, pp. 32, 34; *Scotland and the Commonwealth: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland, from August 1651 to December 1653*, (ed.) Charles Harding Firth (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 5.

19 *Extracts from the Burgh of Glasgow*, pp. 213–18.

20 *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, p. 142; *Extracts from the Burgh of Glasgow*, pp. 126, 135.

established institutions within the burgh, in essence creating their own small socially constructed network. In early 1651, Gillespie convened a committee in the town to discover the reasons for God's wrath on Scotland. By April 1651, it is clear that Gillespie was the head of a closed group that challenged established networks in the burgh. This group consisted of James Naismith, John Neary, Gabriel Maxwell, Alexander Dunlop, Alexander Mowatt and John Cairstairs (who was nominated by Gillespie for his charge the previous year).²¹

In response to Gillespie's actions and his strong support amongst the small landowners of the town, the majority of prominent ministers in the burgh entered a dissent against Gillespie and this included Robert Ramsay, Hew Blair, Zachary Boyd, George Young and Gabriel Cunningham. The old network came together to offset the challenge of the new group in the town.²² Indeed, after the erection of a separate committee to pay the English cess in April, Gillespie became more vocal in his preaching against the king. Baillie was very keen to stress to the leading Royalist nobleman, John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, that the Provost or the Council did not share Gillespie's sentiments. Baillie also urged the Royalists not to be too vocal about their failings, as this gave Gillespie greater standing and credibility. With the defeat of Charles II at Worcester, the true egotistical Gillespie emerged and, vindicated by events, he drew new confidence and strength. Wariston, the towering figure of the Covenanting movement, watched events in Glasgow and became concerned that the Glasgow Remonstrants, under Gillespie, were breaking away from other Remonstrants in the country. A few days later, Wariston received a curt reply from Gillespie declaring there had been no wrongdoing. It is clear that Gillespie had succeeded in building his own close group of supporters in the town which, at times, had contempt for their fellow Remonstrants.²³

From early February to late April 1652, the English regime sought to consolidate its conquest of Scotland by means of a 'Tender' which formally requested an assent to Scotland's political incorporation within the English Commonwealth. Glasgow rejected the Tender of Incorporation on 24 February 1652 in the starkest possible terms, giving detailed reasons for its dissent. It was in the form of a written protest and condemnation against English rule in Scotland, amplified by the fact that it was one of only three constituencies in Scotland that had rejected the union outright. Giving their reasons, the Burgh of Glasgow stated that Scotland had a right to its own distinct government and that religion had been settled. As a result, they could not agree to the imposition of England's government upon Scotland and the establishment of religious heresy and error through the promotion of toleration. Tacit written consent was only achieved a few weeks later, when English forces stationed troops in the

21 *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 115–43, 186.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

23 *Diary of Archibald Johnston of Wariston 1650–1654*, (ed.) David Hay Fleming (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1919), vol. ii, pp. 108–9, 141–2; *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 151, 170.

town. Thus, consent to incorporation was not voluntary but a forced act, where established mechanisms of local government were distorted wilfully by outside or alien forces.²⁴

In June 1652, Glasgow again found itself forced into openly accepting the authority of the English Commonwealth as a result of a terrible misfortune, as 'The Representation from the City of Glasgow' recalls:

It pleased the Lord, in his deep wisdom and over-ruling Providence, so to dispose upon the 17 June last 1652 being Thursday before two of the clock in the afternoon, a sudden and violent fire brake up within a narrow Alley, upon the East side of the streete above the Crosse, which within a short space burnt up to six Allies of houses with divers considerable buildings upon the Fore- street . . . the wind blowing from the North east carried such sparks of the flame as kindled unexpectedly some houses on the West side of the Saltmarket where the fire spread, that it did all overrun from house to house and consumed in what few houses what came in its way, not only houses but goods also . . . this fire by the hand of God was carried so from one side of that street to the other that it was totally consumed on both sides, and in it, the faire best, and most considerable buildings in the Towne with all the shops and Warehouses of merchants which were therein.²⁵

The 'Great Fire of Glasgow' had a devastating impact. Up to a thousand people were reported homeless and later ended up living in the wide open fields of the city, standing in the only belongings they had left. The fire was also no respecter of persons; those who were once wealthy merchants were now impoverished. The fire burned a third of the city and ripped the heart out of the merchant quarter.²⁶ The response in the wake of the fire highlights that Glasgow received aid from both 'the old order' of Kirk and the 'new order' of the English Republic.

The burgh appealed to the Kirk and its ability to raise money through its well established channels for fundraising. As John Young has demonstrated, the Scottish Covenanters dealt with the many refugees that had crossed the North Channel between Ulster and Scotland during 1641 and 1642 as a result of the

24 Frances Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 36–46; *The Cromwellian Union: Papers Relating to the Negotiations for an Incorporating Union between England and Scotland 1651–1652*, (ed.) Charles Sandford Terry (Edinburgh, 1902), pp. 34–5; Kirsteen M. MacKenzie, 'Loyalty to King or Covenant Retained: Presbyterians in the Three Nations and the English Commonwealth, 1649–1653', in Shane Alcobia-Murphy, Johanna Archibold, John Gibney and Carole Jones (eds), *Beyond the Anchoring Grounds: More Cross-currents in Irish Scottish Studies* (Belfast, 2005), pp. 170–74; GCA, C1.1.(12), Council Minutes, 22 June and 25 June 1652 (no folio numbers on manuscripts).

25 *A Representation of the Sad Condition, and Humble Desires of the People of Glasgow* (London, 1652), p. 1.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 1; Kirsteen M. MacKenzie 'The Great Fire of Glasgow', *History Scotland*, 13/6 (2013): pp. 20–23.

Irish Rebellion. The church structure, particularly the central bodies such as the General Assembly of Scotland, would direct these collections nationally. Orders would trickle down to Synods, Presbyteries and individual parishes, including the Glasgow Presbytery and Kirk Session (who were asked to contribute to a fund for Scottish prisoners in Tynemouth just two weeks after their own devastating fire).²⁷ On 9 August 1652, the General Assembly of Scotland endorsed the Burgh of Glasgow's request for financial assistance and collections took place all over Scotland, from Inverness to Paisley.²⁸ In addition, the bonds between the 'Covenanted Interest' in the Stuart kingdoms were still clearly active, as ministers in London collected money for the people of Glasgow. This included many English Presbyterians, such as Edmund Calamy and Simeon Ashe.²⁹

In the week after the fire, the Burgh of Glasgow directly contacted the Parliament in England, describing the city's plight and asking for help and supplies. This was an open acceptance of the Commonwealth's authority in Scotland and it is interesting to note that the English Parliament was the first to be approached for assistance. Clearly, after the fire, Glasgow was in no position to argue.³⁰ The willingness of Glasgow to accept the lack of consultation and national self governance is evident in the wake of the fire. In addition to the letters sent to London asking for help, a representative from the burgh was appointed to go to London as part of the contingent to discuss the union. It is clear from the evidence in the burgh records that this had nothing to do with the union but was all about receiving monies for the town. This proved successful and, on 17 September 1652, the House of Commons granted Glasgow £1,000 Sterling out of the money taken from Scottish Royalist forfeited estates, thereby allowing them to rebuild the town.³¹ Clearly a transfer of power between the Covenanted authorities to the English Republic had taken place. Glasgow drew upon previous and new sources for support highlighting a mixed response and an incomplete transition of authority.

An Incomplete Transition: Authority in Contested Spaces

In January 1653, the University of Glasgow received a letter from the English regime appointing Patrick Gillespie as principal of the University. Robert

27 *Extracts from the Burgh of Glasgow*, p. 237; John R. Young, 'Escaping Massacre: Refugees in Scotland in the Aftermath of the 1641 Ulster Rebellion', in David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan and Clodagh Tait (eds), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 220–25; GCA, CH2/171/5, Presbytery of Glasgow Minutes, fol. 36; GCA, CH2/1277/1, Govan Old Kirk Session Minutes, fol. 35.

28 NRS, CH2/449/1, Records of the Provincial Synod of Perth and Stirling, fols 95–7; *Records of the Presbyteries of the Inverness and Dingwall 1648–1688*, (ed.) William MacKay (Edinburgh, 1896), pp. 245–50; *The Records of Elgin*, (ed.) William Crammond (2 vols, Aberdeen, 1903–08), vol. ii, p. 282; NRS, CH2/294/3, Minutes of the Presbytery of Paisley, fol. 125.

29 *The Representation of the Sad Condition of the People of Glasgow*, p. 1.

30 *Cromwellian Union*, pp. 34–5.

31 *Commons Journal*, 1651–60, p. 183; *Extracts from the Burgh of Glasgow*, p. 235.

Baillie was incensed and felt that it was the University's privilege to elect its own principal. 'The matter was totally new, a Principal in part, not fully for a time . . . a Principal upon no invitation for the College but some private men, after a Faculty had judicially refused all invitation. Such things were great "novelties"'.³²

Indeed, 'novelties' imposed on the university arguably show that the English Republic had to succeed in its endeavours by supporting a powerful minority faction upon which the English regime would do its bidding. Despite the English Republic having openly promoted its own authority in a variety of ways over the previous three years, Glasgow continued to reject its advances, with a view to protecting existing city governance. Glasgow did this in a variety of ways, through actions, inaction and words. Ironically, the 'inaction' of Glasgow resulted in the emergence of a new authority which distorted and corrupted the very networks the majority of the town's elite sought to protect. Military force, as a means to convey, display or extract obedience, does not always lead to a wholesale and clean transition of authority.

³² *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii, p. 213.

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Section II

Pious Rituals and Military Display

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5 *Who is this King of Glory?*

Robert I of Scotland (1306–1329), Holy Week and the Consecration of St Andrews Cathedral

Michael Penman

As an aspiring monarch Robert Bruce had the best of teachers – King Edward I of England (r.1272–1307). According to Sir Thomas Gray, the Northumbrian knight and chronicler whose father fought in the Anglo-Scottish wars from 1296, Robert served in his youth as a ‘bachelor’ in Edward I’s household.¹ If so, this may have brought the young Bruce into direct contact c.1286–96 with Edward’s masterful deployment of ceremony, institutional space, image, text and liturgy to proclaim his political authority and the sacrality of his dynasty. As such, Robert could have been a witness to such weighty rituals as: Edward I’s Round-Table tournament and knighting of household supporters at Winchester in September 1285 and April 1290;² the English royal household’s dedication of Henry III’s completed brass tomb at Westminster Abbey in 1290, a year which also saw Edward’s poignant mourning of his queen, Eleanor, through a unique programme of processional crosses and two effigial monuments;³ John Balliol’s inauguration as vassal king of Scots at Scone Abbey on St Andrews Day 1292, in a carefully controlled ceremony overseen by English officials;⁴ and the English king’s triumphal tour of eastern Scotland’s significant castles, churches and burghs in spring-summer 1296 after King John had been ritually stripped of his office near Arbroath Abbey about 7 July, the Translation feast of St Thomas Becket (to whom Arbroath was dedicated and to whose chief English shrine at Canterbury Edward would gift confiscated Scottish royal muniments).⁵

1 Sir Thomas Gray: *Scalacronica* (1272–1363), (ed.) Andy King (Surtees Society, 209, Woodbridge, 2005), p. 35. Gray junior was himself a prisoner of the Scots, 1355–57.

2 Mark Morris, ‘Edward I and the Knights of the Round Table’, in Paul Brand and Sean Cunningham (eds), *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: Records edited in Honour of David Crook* (York, 2008), pp. 57–76.

3 Michael Prestwich, ‘The Piety of Edward I’, in W. Mark Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Grantham, 1985), pp. 120–28; Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400* (London, 1987), pp. 361–6.

4 *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, p. 39.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 77–9; *CDS*, vol. ii, nos 737–823.

Thereafter, as earl of Carrick, struggling to advance his own cause within the Scottish Guardianships c.1297–1306, Robert would have occasion for less frequent but no less impactful experiences of Edwardian projections of authority. For example, the large and confident court which the English king established at the Scottish royal mausoleum of Dunfermline Abbey in Fife from November 1303 to March 1304: as well as marking the feast of St Margaret (16 November) and gifting jewels to her feretory shrine, Edward and his son also took time there to conduct submission negotiations with John Comyn of Badenoch and other Scots, culminating in a Parliament of vassals at the nearby chief ecclesiastical seat of St Andrews by 9 March 1304.⁶ Here Edward and his new queen also gifted gold to the apostle's relics while rebellious Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow was obliged to repledge his oath to England at the high altar on the Sacrament and the Gospels as well as upon the captured Welsh Cross of Neyth and its companion Scottish prize, St Margaret's 'Black Rood'.⁷ By the same token, as one of three Scottish representatives summoned by Edward, Robert cannot have failed to be impressed by the English king's oversight of the great Westminster Parliament of Lent 1305, attended by over 600 individuals, during which a separate committee determining Scotland's governance sat in one of the painted chambers of the royal palace, its cycles depicting such exemplars of rule as Judas Maccabeus.⁸ Significantly, both these Edwardian assemblies of 1304 and 1305 placed Robert in the English king's presence during the celebration of Holy Week, from Palm Sunday's procession and mass (discussed below) through to Good Friday and Passion Sunday.⁹

Given such an apprenticeship, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that after his seizure of the Scottish throne in 1306 Robert I displayed an impressive level of political and symbolic understanding in choreographing key moments of kingship and governance, despite the initially painful fragility of his actual support. Moreover, from the outset it is clear that the projection of Robert's royal authority and legitimacy, and with it Scotland's sovereignty, through an intertwining of institutions, ceremony, relics, text and accompanying liturgy, all bore the strong and necessary imprint of leading churchmen.

Holy Week, 1306, and All Souls, 1314

Thus Robert's inauguration as king in Lent 1306, as Lucinda Dean has recently shown, combined the traditional site and accoutrements of Scottish kingship which survived *in situ* at Scone, or had been hidden from Edward, imbuing

6 BL, Add. MS 8835, fols 121r, 122v; TNA, E101/370/3, 1.2; RPS, A1304/1.

7 CDS, vol. iv, nos 486–7.

8 *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, (ed.) Chris Given-Wilson et al. (London, 2005), Edward I, Roll 12 passim; Alexander and Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 342–4.

9 CCR, 1302–07, pp. 127–9, 250–62; CPR, 1301–07, pp. 276, 330–37. Palm Sunday and Easter in 1304 and 1305 were 22 and 29 March, and 11 and 18 April, respectively.

them with powerful religious meaning.¹⁰ Robert was installed as king by a representative of the noble house of the ancient earls of Fife on Friday 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin, the start of the new calendar year as well as within the Octave of Easter (3 April) that year. Yet the religious and secular meaning of this ceremony might be taken further. The indulgences extended to Scots brave enough to attend would surely have been confirmed (and perhaps extended) by the late arrival of Bishop William Lamberton of St Andrews and his delivery of a mass and sermon on Palm Sunday (27 March).¹¹ The latter was a major Holy feast which marked Christ's arrival in Jerusalem to battle Satan and to end his reign of evil through sacrifice, events enshrined in the earliest Gospels.

By the thirteenth century Scottish liturgical use on Palm Sunday, as throughout Holy Week and the wider spiritual year, followed and adapted that of Sarum/Salisbury.¹² As such, Bishop Lamberton, as the 'Good Shepherd' of Scotland's flock and dressed in red vestments symbolic of Christ's blood, surely led a procession of Bruce's supporters and some of the townsfolk of nearby Perth, perhaps even walking the two miles from the burgh's church of St John the Baptist to Scone Abbey, its precinct walls symbolising the 'city' of Jerusalem, for high mass. The processants would have sung Psalms and antiphons as well as given prayer at designated stations, carrying blessed palms and green or flowering branches together with the Gospels and/or a tall cross bearing an image of Christ. Crucially, before reaching the abbey they would have joined up with a smaller procession of clerics carrying the Eucharist itself, traditionally borne in an ark-shaped feretory or pyx (which might also contain some of the church's other relics). The attendant crowds would have greeted the Eucharist as the manifestation of Christ himself entering the Holy City. Significantly, if – as A.A.M. Duncan has argued – the original importance of the 'stone of Scone' was to serve as a grooved ceremonial base for such a reliquary then its absence from Robert's installation as king may not have been as damaging as usually supposed.¹³ This may explain in turn why a furious Edward I went to such lengths in 1306–07 to search for further relics and muniments at Scone while trying to have the abbey moved south with papal approval (as 'it is situated in

10 Lucinda Dean, 'Crowns, Processions and Wedding Rings: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony c.1214–c.1603' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2013), pp. 113–20.

11 *Chron. Fordun*, vol. i, pp. 340–41, vol. ii, pp. 333–4; *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, p. 317. 27 March was sometimes observed as a fixed feast to commemorate the Resurrection: Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 120.

12 Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1898–1901), vol. i, pp. 60–61; Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 115–17, 182. For what follows on Palm Sunday see James Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages* (San Francisco, 2012), pp. 315–56.

13 Archibald A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 150–58.

the midst of a perverse nation'), and why Robert I did not press further for the stone's return to Scone in 1328 when the Westminster monks, to whom Edward I had had it gifted in 1296, refused to allow its repatriation.¹⁴

Upon arrival at Scone Abbey the Palm procession would have halted before the great west door while the pyx was raised to the lintel and then the bishop struck three times on the main east door with his crozier or a cross. By the high Middle Ages this was a part of Palm Sunday ritual which had grown to overlap with that for the consecration of any new church, with both ceremonies drawing on Psalm 24 and thus the three knocks originally prompting three questions and responsories:

Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, for the
King of Glory shall come in.

Who is this King of Glory?

The Lord who is strong and mighty.

Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, for the
King of Glory shall come in.

Who is this King of Glory?

The Lord mighty in battle.

Lift up your gates, O ye Princes, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, for the
King of Glory shall come in

Who is this King of Glory?

The Lord of hosts [armies]; he is the King of Glory.¹⁵

By the early fourteenth century, these vital exchanges may have been condensed to a more direct (but nonetheless, for Scotland and Bruce, meaningful) dialogue in Sarum use:

Who is this?

This is he who was going to come for the salvation of the people.

Of what manner is this one?

This is our salvation and Israel's redemption.

Then entering into the church to the ringing of bells the procession would halt at the unveiled Holy Cross, or its dedicative altar, displayed before the entry to the choir, and then kneel, thrice singing the antiphon *Ave Rex Noster*:

Our king, Son of David, Redeemer of the world, whom the prophets foretold to be the Saviour coming to the house of Israel . . .

14 TNA, SC7/10/32; CDS, vol. v, nos 432, 470; Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, 'The Removal of the Stone and Attempts at Recovery, to 1328', in Richard Welander, David J. Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy (eds), *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 199–206.

15 See Psalm 24:7–10.

The veneration of the cross served as a memorial and link to Christ's sacrifice and Passion and a prompt to the solemn Palm Sunday high mass which followed and included a Gospel reading of the Passion story.

For the churchmen present in 1306 – including Bishop Wishart, former Abbot Bernard of Kilwinning (Abbot of Arbroath and Chancellor by late 1308–09) and Abbot Maurice of Inchaffray – the vital connotations of resurrection, rebirth and purification, equivalent to a baptismal cleansing, would have been clear in this ceremony. After Easter 1306, it would thus have been the task of these Scottish clerics through pulpit, prayer and text to further convince the laity of Robert I's legitimacy and, with him, the revival of the independent Scottish realm (and its separate *ecclesia*) and the pressing need to support him in an armed struggle against English tyranny ('coming out' to meet him as their king). It is tempting, moreover, to speculate that the prelates actively encouraged Robert, who also lacked the traditional Scottish royal sceptre and coronet, to usurp a ceremony approaching coronation and anointment, long a historic aspiration of the independent Scottish monarchy and church, and one to be approved retrospectively through a subsequent appeal to the papacy (as was the case by 1329).¹⁶

For the nervous new king, robed in royal purple, and for his lay subjects, their minds drawn to the dangerous secular world of retribution which surely awaited them after their treasonous actions in March 1306, the Palm Sunday ritual may thus have been both reassuring and burdensome. To Robert, guided by Wishart, the immediate attraction here may have been the plenary absolution of sins bestowed by anointment (and thus pardon of his broken oaths to Edward I and sacrilegious murder of rival John Comyn of Badenoch in a church in Dumfries on 10 February 1306).¹⁷ For the nobles present, however, although they were undoubtedly liturgically literate, the ceremony was perhaps more substantially underlined by Robert's distribution of knighthoods, robes and charters and the general early propagation of a sense of brotherhood through feasting down to Easter.

Leaving aside the projection of authority and community consensus intended by the parallel 'declarations' of the nobility and clergy issued at Robert's first full Parliament, held at St Andrews in Lent 1309 (where the king apparently did not linger for Palm Sunday and Easter that year, 23 and 30 April), a further similar convergence of political and religious purpose can be found in the months after the defeat of Edward II at the battle of Bannockburn. Gathering about the major festival of All Souls' Day (2 November) 1314 at Cambuskenneth Abbey, just a few miles from the battlefield (and with some of England's captured banners surely on display in the church), Robert oversaw a full Parliament.¹⁸

16 *CPL*, vol. ii, p. 291.

17 Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, (trans.) J.E. Anderson (London, 1973), p. 115.

18 Michael Penman, *Robert the Bruce, King of the Scots* (London and New Haven, 2014), pp. 1–3, 149–56. All Saints (1 November) or All Souls were likely deadlines for Robert's one year ultimatum to his enemies issued c. October 1313.

This assembly may, though, have been preceded by the attendant community's participation in an All Souls procession from the abbey to a nearby cemetery (perhaps one containing men slain in the recent battle) with Psalms and prayers drawn from the Office of the Dead, seeking intercession for those souls in Purgatory.¹⁹ Arguably this may have sought to set a sober and reconciliatory tone for the Parliament, rather than one which, post-battle, was partisan, triumphal and vindictive. For this assembly was to be headlined by a formal act of forfeiture of Robert's remaining enemies' Scottish lands (although some high profile opponents, including Duncan earl of Fife, were allowed to submit later) and the king accompanied this with several high profile grants of land and office to his supporters. This largesse included Sir Gilbert Hay's appointment as hereditary royal Constable and, perhaps, the redistribution of such important titles as the earldoms of Atholl and Angus (forfeiting Strathbogie and Umfraville incumbents and rewarding Campbell of Lochawe and Stewart of Bonkle supporters respectively).²⁰

However, Robert also took care to link these political acts directly to further confirmation of the sacral legitimacy of his dynasty and the salvation of his own soul. By 16 November 1314 he and his court had travelled some twenty miles east to the royal mausoleum at Dunfermline Abbey, in time to receive the indulgences extended to worshippers and pilgrims on the main feast day of royal saint, Queen Margaret (d.1093). Here Robert must have participated in the great relic procession, aspersions and mass of the abbey and then confirmed a grant he had issued during the Parliament, gifting the nearby parish church of Kinross (dedicated to St Serf) to Dunfermline's monks.²¹ This served as an endowment for Robert's now declared intention to erect his own tomb in Dunfermline alongside those of his royal and saintly predecessors, thus *ad sanctos* (next to the saints): this presumably also saw him select a specific site for his monument amidst those of Margaret, (St) Malcolm III, Edgar, Alexander I, (St) David I, Malcolm IV and Alexander III (and his queen and children).²² This was perhaps also a public expression of gratitude for the role played by relics of St Margaret present on the battlefield at Bannockburn, just as Robert would reward other churches and cults for their aid in 1314. In addition, the witnesses to this very public grant to Dunfermline reveal the importance which Robert attached to association of his chief kin and supporters with such royal patronage: they included Edward Bruce earl of Carrick and lord of Galloway, 'our brother' and heir presumptive; Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, 'our nephew', who would also prepare his own tomb in the abbey; Walter Stewart, Robert's son-in-law by mid-1315; and leading

19 Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred*, pp. 529–39.

20 RRS, nos 41–3; RPS, 1314/1.

21 RRS, nos 43–4. Culross Abbey, on the road from Stirling to Dunfermline, hosted the shrine of St Serf; the chapel of Cardross, Dumbartonshire, where Robert's entrails would be buried in 1329, was also dedicated to Serf.

22 Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 305–8.

war-captains the 'Good' Sir James Douglas, Sir John Menteith and Sir Robert Keith, hereditary Marischal. At the same time, Bishop Lamberton was ordered to oversee the appropriation of the church of Kinross to the abbey by way of confirming the foundation, and perhaps the formal consecration of the first stones, of Robert's planned tomb.²³

These were staged rituals which may then have had a profound effect upon the Scottish political community and wider society. In that light it is odd to find that, to date, historians have focussed far more upon the impact of such events of 1306, 1310 and 1314 (as well as of 1320 and the 'Declaration' of Arbroath) rather than a later gathering which arguably ranks as the best-attended high ceremonial event of Robert's reign and lifetime, namely the consecration of St Andrews Cathedral in 1318. Moreover, the latter was a grand occasion designed for external as well as internal secular and spiritual consumption.

Consecrating the Cathedral of the Scots

Although Bannockburn had enabled Robert I to recover his queen and daughter and make provisions for his succession, the years 1315–18 had been a hard military slog for the Scots.²⁴ Edward Bruce's invasion force became bogged down in Irish politics and terrain while Robert, Randolph, Douglas and other captains struggled to make a dent in northern England's defences sufficient to provoke Edward II to make concessions. Nevertheless, April 1318 at last saw a breakthrough. After many months of a deteriorating defence the burgh walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed were betrayed and fell. Crucially, Robert was able to enter the burgh by at least 12 April thus allowing him opportunity to use Berwick and its several churches, benefices to which he began restoring both secular and regular clergy, to stage a great Palm Sunday (16 April) procession and mass followed by the rest of Holy Week down to Passion Sunday itself (23 April).²⁵

A strong parallel could thus be drawn between Christ's entry into Jerusalem and Robert's own achievement as king in recovering Berwick, although a further eleven weeks of brutal siege would be required before the castle garrison there surrendered.²⁶ Berwick's recapture, like that of Stirling castle in 1314, was hugely symbolic. The recovery of the burgh not only restored to the realm the ostensible full mainland extent of Scotland's pre-1296 territory (with only the Isle of Man unrecovered) and the former leading port, but also the full spiritual jurisdiction of the principal (though not official metropolitan) diocese of St Andrews. It also avenged the bloody fall of the burgh to Edward I in 1296

23 Kinross was worth c.35 merks a year in church tax with Robert's gift re-confirmed by Lamberton in 1317: *Liber Carta Prioratus Sanctii Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1841), pp. 33, 191, 195, 199, 202.

24 Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, chs 6–7.

25 CDS, vol. iii, nos 593–7; RRS, nos 135, 137.

26 *Scalaonica*, p. 79; John Barbour, *The Bruce*, (ed.) Archibald A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 617–27 (which claimed the castle fell after just six days).

and opened up northern England to further lucrative Scottish raiding. Such was Berwick's importance to Robert's kingship and domain that he determined not, as with captures since 1306, to raze its walls and castle to the ground and thus deny it to the enemy; but rather to reoccupy, revive and defend it as a sovereign Scottish market, sheriffship-with-castle, mint and church centre.²⁷

However, there was an immediate and heavy price to pay for this triumph. The betrayal and capture of the starving town had been an opportunistic act which in fact breached a Papally-imposed truce on the Anglo-Scottish border.²⁸ As a result Robert was quickly excommunicated afresh by Pope John XXII and this time the threat of full interdict upon religious services in Scotland for Bruce and his supporters loomed.²⁹ The king thus also faced further impediment to his hopes of turning Papal sympathy to favour his supplications as king of Scots in nominating appointments to vacant Scottish benefices, not least to the bishopric of Glasgow following Wishart's death in late 1316.³⁰ In this context, Robert's decision to journey from Berwick in early June to St Andrews by Wednesday 5 July 1318 (which was the Octave of the major universal feast of SS Peter and Paul, both buried in Rome) to oversee a consecration service for the realm's premier and largest cathedral takes on extra layers of meaning. Even the route which Robert took north may have been part of the plan, perhaps taking in Stirling and Cambuskenneth on the anniversary of Bannockburn (St John the Baptist's day, 24 June), or Culross (the shrine of Serf, feast 1 July) and Dunfermline (with St Margaret's Translation feast falling on 19 June).³¹ Thereafter, the ceremony which Robert and his chief clerical councilors enacted at St Andrews amounted to a powerful statement of sovereignty as well as a just celebration of military success and an affirmation of faith in defiance of papal censures (which had been quickly relayed and amplified by English clergy).

We are dependent upon two fifteenth-century Scottish narrative accounts for any evidence at all of the cathedral ceremony of 1318. The similarities between the accounts suggest a common fourteenth-century written source or eye-witness of the same physical commemorative monument. Certainly, Andrew Wyntoun, prior of nearby Lochleven from 1393 and a former Augustinian of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, drew on the records of the chief diocese throughout his rhyming *Original Chronicle* until his death c.1421–22.³² Similarly, Walter Bower became an Augustinian canon at St Andrews about 1400 and later a graduate of the University established there c.1414

27 Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 184–6.

28 *CPL*, vol. ii, pp. 128–32.

29 *Foedera*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 151–2.

30 *CPL*, vol. ii, pp. 132, 173; *CDS*, vol. iii, no. 653; D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 151, 352–3, 590.

31 This is speculation as we have no royal acts or exchequer rolls for this period.

32 *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. i, pp. xix–xl; Carol Edington, 'Wyntoun, Andrew (c.1350–c.1422)', *ODNB* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.stir.ac.uk/view/article/30164> [accessed 14 September 2014].

before his own consecration as Abbot of the island monastery of Inchcolm in the Forth on 17 April 1418.³³ This confirms that both Wyntoun and Bower may have been party to the centenary celebrations of the consecration of St Andrews, taking part in contemporary celebrations in 1418 which recalled – and indeed recited and reflected upon – Bruce’s and Lamberton’s original ceremony in 1318.³⁴

Thus it was not simply the fact that Bower had access to St Andrews’ archive of bulls and chronicles and its now fragmentary (if not completely lost) carulary which allowed him to relate in his long Latin prose *Scotichronicon* of the 1440s that:

On 5 July the great church of the apostle Andrew in Scotland was dedicated by Sir William de Lamberton, bishop of the same. At this dedication, in order to augment the resources for divine worship, Sir Robert the king, acting in person in the presence of seven bishops, fifteen abbots and nearly all the nobles of the kingdom, both earls and barons, offered one hundred marks sterling to be paid annually from his treasury in commemoration of the signal victory given to the Scots at Bannockburn by the blessed Andrew, protector of the kingdom. Instead of these hundred marks he afterwards granted in perpetuity to the same church the patronage of the church of Fordoun in the Mearns with all its revenues. The said William bishop of St Andrews ratified this gift and confirmed the canons in full ownership in perpetuity. On the same day and for the same reason the same Bishop William conferred and granted the churches of Dairsie and Abercrombie to the same canons in full ownership. Similarly, on the same day and for the same reason Duncan earl of Fife with the consent of the king and the confirmation of the bishop conferred the church of Kilgour [Falkland in Fife] on them in full ownership.³⁵

Bower’s broad details may reflect not only a written record of the 1318 ceremony but a consultable text or engraved [‘founder’s’] plaque displayed inside the cathedral itself, commemorating the actions of Robert and his great subjects and recording their names for posterity and prayer.³⁶

33 *Chron. Bower*, vol. ix, pp. 204–9.

34 In 1418 Palm Sunday and Easter fell on 20 and 27 March respectively.

35 *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, pp. 413–15. Wyntoun’s brief account is similar: ‘A Thousande thre hundir yhere and auchteyne/ Fra Crist borne of the Maydyn cleyne,/ Off the monethe of July/ The fift day, ful solempnely/ The bischope Willame of Lambertone/ Mad the dedicacion/ Off the new cathedrale/ Off Sancte Andrewis conuentualle./ The Kynge Robert honerably/Was thar in persone bodely; And sewyn bishopis thar was seyne,/ And abbatis als war thar fiteyne,/ And mony othir gentil men/ War gadryt to assemble then’: *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. v, pp. 370–73.

36 Michael Hicks, ‘English Monasteries as Repositories of Dynastic Memory’, in Michael Penman (ed.), *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Donington, 2013), pp. 224–38, at pp. 226–9.

St Andrews cathedral itself had been founded c.1140 and dedicated c.1162; but it progressed slowly in its construction, only beginning life as a functioning church c.1238 and even then with considerable work on both the upper choir and nave and much of the west front remaining. Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow's uncle, William (a former archdeacon of St Andrews, bishop-elect of Glasgow and royal Chancellor), held the St Andrews see 1270–79 and oversaw much of the remaining works, including a rebuilt west front following storm damage.³⁷ By 1290, anticipation of the building's completion and consecration was reflected in Pope Nicholas IV's grant of a generous indulgence applied to the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), St Andrew's Day (30 November) and the anniversary of the cathedral's foundation.³⁸ But the outbreak of the succession wars, the political role and death-in-exile of Bishop William Fraser of St Andrews (d.1297), and Bishop Lamberton's own badly disrupted early office, dominated by Edwardian occupation c.1297–1309, all served to delay the great event. However, Lamberton's appointment in 1297 through the influence of Robert Wishart, under whom he had served as chancellor at Glasgow (hence the appearance on Lamberton's seal at St Andrews of the fish and bell associated with the miracles of St Kentigern of Glasgow), likely served to stoke further expectation that the consecration of St Andrews cathedral could be used at just the right moment to declare the sovereignty of Scotland's realm and church under its own king.³⁹ The close relationship of Wishart and Lamberton, indeed, alongside Abbot Bernard of Arbroath's advice to King Robert as his Chancellor, would also determine the wide liturgical scope of the eventual consecration ceremony at St Andrews, adding further to its meaning and reach.

Significantly, although St Andrews cathedral and its altars had been in full use for over eighty years, both the king and Lamberton – who also oversaw the completion of a number of the adjacent Priory buildings, erected a fine monument to the heart burial of Bishop Fraser and prepared his own tomb between the central pillars of the north choir aisle – may have been adamant given their present circumstances that a full consecration rite should be observed, as if the church was brand new.⁴⁰ The shorter, simpler rite which might have consecrated a church with such a history of use, and which can be found in a number of

37 Ronald G. Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', in David McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews* (Glasgow, 1976), pp. 11–32, at pp. 18–23; Watt, *Dictionary of Scottish Graduates*, pp. 590–94; Archibald A.M. Duncan, 'The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140', *SHR*, 84/1 (2005): pp. 1–37.

38 *CPL*, vol. i, p. 250.

39 Watt, *Dictionary of Scottish Graduates*, pp. 203–6, 318–25, 585–90; *Chron. Bower*, vol. vi, p. 413.

40 *Chron. Wylntoun*, vol. v, pp. 311–13, 382; Cant, 'The Building of St Andrews Cathedral', p. 27; David McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', in McRoberts (ed.), *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, pp. 63–120, at p. 88. The cathedral c.1318 has recently been the focus of a virtual digital recreation by the University of St Andrews: see <http://virtualworlds.cs.st-andrews.ac.uk/cathedral/login.php>.

extant contemporary pontificals, was not adopted.⁴¹ In doing so, Robert could have drawn on family knowledge of his great-grandfather's participation as a newborn in the magnificent Translation and dedication of St Thomas Becket's relics and new shrine, held on 7 July 1220 at Canterbury Cathedral Priory; this was an event attended by state dignitaries and visiting prelates, with perpetual indulgences, distribution of contact relics and subsequent jubilees.⁴² Thus the St Andrews ceremony, held on Wednesday 5 July 1318, surely opened with a full solemn relic procession by clergy, king and lay guests around stations in the streets and other churches of a burgh which had been laid out to emulate the papal heart of Rome itself.⁴³

As with the Palm Sunday ceremony of 1306 (and that of 1318) this consecration was meant to be an essentially baptismal rite; the birth of a newly cleansed Jerusalem, and thus a renewed Scottish kingdom, in the form of the now completed church. Once at their destination, processants were expected to make three circuits of the church (empty save for its archdeacon), singing the seven Penitential Psalms, then further antiphons and prayers: the first two circuits were made counter-clockwise, the last clockwise, symbolising Christ's birth, descent and resurrection. Then, outside the main west front (where notices of excommunication were usually posted), the officiating bishop, Lamberton, would asperse the processional door with Holy Water containing salt (symbolic of wisdom), ashes and wine, sprinkled using a brush of common, cleansing hyssop (representing the humility of Christ). Invoking Psalm 24, the bishop would then strike the door or its lintel three times, prompting the exchange of responsory affirmation (as on Palm Sunday, discussed above) which declared the entry of Christ as the 'King of Glory'.

It is reasonable to speculate that upon entering the cathedral in 1318, the 'baptismal' sacrament of the ceremony and, according to Bower, the emphasis

41 For what follows of this rite see: Lee Bowen, 'The Topology of Medieval Dedication Rites', *Speculum*, 16/4 (1941): pp. 469–79; *Pontificale Ecclesiae S. Andree: The Pontifical Offices Used by David de Bernham Bishop of St Andrews*, (ed.) Charles Wordsworth (Edinburgh, 1885), Introduction, pp. 1–26, 96–7; Charles Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 96–7; *The Order of Dedication or Consecration of a Church: Translated from the Roman Pontifical* (Roehampton, 1927), pp. 1–82; Thomas D. Kozachek, 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1995), esp. ch. 6; *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, (ed.) Timothy M. Thibodeau (Columbia, 2010), pp. 60–76.

42 Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register E, fol. 127a, nos 2–3, fol. 143; Raymond Foreville, *Le Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket du XIII^e au XV^e siècle (1220–1470): Étude et documents* (Paris, 1958), ch. 1. A Bruce church in Annandale, at Applegarth, was dedicated to St Thomas: *CDS*, vol. v, no. 243; and the Bruces had granted their Northumbrian church at Haltwhistle to Arbroath Abbey: *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1848–56), vol. i, no. 37.

43 *Rites of Durham: being A Description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging, or being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the suppression, written 1593* (Durham, 1903), pp. 104–8; Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred*, pp. 568–79; Ian Campbell, 'Planning for Pilgrims: St Andrews as the second Rome', *IR*, 64/1 (2013): pp. 1–22; Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), chs 3, 4 and 6.

placed upon the role of that church and its apostolic saint in aiding Scotland at Bannockburn, may have been poignantly realised by the procession by including the altar chapel of St John the Baptist (feast 24 June), located in the north-west corner of the nave, as a station for chant and prayer.⁴⁴ Advancing to the centre of the church, bishop, king and guests must then have paused to venerate the Holy Cross. In doing so they were probably able to make use of the great rood gifted to the church of St Andrews by St Margaret: but an early modern antiquarian survey of the church also lists a cross of 'crystal rock', granted to the church from the spoils of Bannockburn by Robert I, which might also have featured.⁴⁵

Passing through the rood screen and entering the choir, the procession should then have approached the high altar which the bishop would have consecrated and blessed as a symbol of the new Jerusalem. In doing so his prayers and further exchanges with the attendant clergy invoked such biblical events as Jacob's foundation stone for the Holy City: but it also contained lines ringing with meaning for Scotland's and Robert's cause (echoed, too, in the 'Declaration' of Arbroath):

Far from us drive our hellish foe,
True peace unto us bring . . .
[God] has raised up a mighty deliverer for us in the house of David his
servant,
That we should be delivered of our enemies . . .⁴⁶

It is possible that, even at this relatively late stage in the cathedral's history, Lamberton then officiated at the burial of fragments (even just dust) of the church's relics of Andrew and other saints (such as Constantine, a tenth-century king of Scots) in a sepulchre under the floor around the high and relic altars at the east end of the choir: this was a Papally-sanctioned tradition which would enhance their apotropaic powers.⁴⁷ But the fore-arm, hand and skull bones of Andrew which the cathedral possessed were otherwise retained within a single bejewelled reliquary, the *Morbrac*, which would have been carried on a bier throughout the procession.⁴⁸ The bishop would certainly, though, have aspersed the high altar seven times, followed by a three-fold circuit of the interior of the church aspersing and lighting candles at twelve stations marked on the walls by painted or metal crosses. This would be echoed later on the church's exterior at twelve further metal crosses, two of which at St Andrews – on the wall of the choir and its south transept – are just still visible today and measure over 2' in diameter within incised circles.

44 McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', p. 76.

45 Ibid., p. 113, which also notes vestments gifted to Aberdeen Cathedral from the battle spoils.

46 *Order for the Dedication or Consecration of a Church*, pp. 13, 16–17.

47 Ibid., pp. 1–2, 42.

48 McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 67–8.

It was at this stage in the proceedings that the presentation of patronage from king, bishop and earl was undertaken. As with a church foundation(–stone) ceremony it was expected that significant patrons would pledge sufficient endowment for the building and sustenance of the church fabric, personnel and liturgy, symbolically placing a token of materials or produce on the altar itself.⁴⁹ In this instance it is likely that the written charters of King Robert, Bishop Lamberton and Duncan of Fife were so placed for later insertion into both the official cartulary of the cathedral and a decorated display copy for the choir (rather than, say, interred alongside the relics under the altar floor). The fragmentary cartulary of St Andrews does seem to indicate that some, perhaps all, of the parish churches named by Bower as granted in ‘full ownership’ to St Andrews in 1318 were in fact already part of the cathedral’s endowment through earlier gifts of the power of provision/patronage to those parish benefices. This would seem to indicate that the consecration was very much a timely public confirmation of the fulfilment of historic royal, clerical and noble obligations to support the ‘national’ cathedral.⁵⁰

It was liturgical historian Monsignor David McRoberts who first pointed out that these gifts of the king, lead prelate and chief of the most ancient line of earls of the realm constituted an impressive act of community, representing the ‘three estates’ of people, church and nobility.⁵¹ In many ways, Lamberton’s and Robert’s consecration of St Andrews was thus similar to the great unifying and restorative Translation of St Thomas held at Canterbury Cathedral Priory, choreographed by Archbishop Stephen Langton on 7 July 1220 and attended by King Henry III (as well as by Robert’s great-grandfather).⁵² However, if in 1318 it was important that the king and estates also be seen to act in concert in this ‘national’ rite in defiance of papal censures – with Robert’s charter explicitly referencing St Andrew, St Peter’s brother, as the protector of the realm during the victory ‘at Bannockburn’ – then it is surely the case that a similar endowment would have been presented by a leading member of the barons, the actual

49 Nick Holder, ‘Medieval Foundation Stones and Foundation Ceremonies’, in Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2010), pp. 6–23.

50 NLS, Add. MS 15.1.18, no. 19. Abercrombie, patronage granted by Lamberton in 1319: *A Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches*, http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cmas/phase2/site.php?id=158369#bfn0_3 [accessed on 15 August 2014]; *Liber Carta Prioratus Sanctii Andree*, pp. 54, 120. Dairsie, granted by Lamberton in 1301: *RRS*, no. 500 is Robert’s grant of Fordoun which the Papacy confirmed as held by the Cathedral in ‘full ownership’ on 24 November 1329: *CPL*, vol. ii, p. 304. Papal taxation of the later thirteenth century valued these parishes at: Abercrombie, 6 merks; Dairsie, 30 merks; Fordoun, 60 merks; Kilgour, 20 merks; *Liber Carta Prioratus Sanctii Andree*, pp. 33, 34, 37, 38. The gift of Abercrombie may have redirected an earlier earl of Fife’s gift of its patronage to Dunfermline Abbey c.1200: *Dunfermline Registrum*, nos 144–5.

51 McRoberts, ‘The Glorious House of St Andrew’, pp. 111–12.

52 Richard Eales, ‘The Political Setting of the Becket Translation of 1220’, in Diana Wood (ed.), *Studies in Church History, 30: Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 127–39; Sherry L. Reames, ‘Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket’, *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp. 118–70, at 140–47. For Bruce of Annandale (d.1245) in 1220 see Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Register E, fol. 127a, no. 1, and fol. 143r.

'third estate' alongside the clergy and earls. The 'Declaration' of Arbroath of 6 April 1320 would first name Robert's son-in-law, Walter Steward, then Sir William Soules and Sir James Douglas as leading barons in its witness list.⁵³ Of this group it was surely the case that the by-then widower Steward – perhaps with his infant son, Robert (b.1316), the king's grandson and heir presumptive after Edward Bruce – was prominent among the processants. But it may have been Douglas who performed the key service in 1318: tradition records that the statue of the Virgin which flanked the high altar of St Andrews cathedral on its north side was known as 'The Douglas Lady' and the family maintained lights at this image into the fifteenth century.⁵⁴ That any Douglas patronage would have been linked explicitly to Bannockburn seems likely given the dedication of Earl Duncan of Fife's gift-church at Kilgour to a bishop-contemporary of St Columba, a St Gabréin, feast date 24 June (that is, Bannockburn day).⁵⁵

The ceremony was likely closed with further lights, music and prayers at the high altar, together with publication of the indulgences returned for patrons' material support (one year for a visit/gift on the day of consecration and 40 days on subsequent anniversaries), followed by the holding of high mass.⁵⁶ The loss of the exchequer rolls of royal expenditure for all of Robert's reign before 1327 denies us any evidence of further gifts or commemoration in 1318. It is possible that some of the vestments and books which Lamberton later bequeathed to the cathedral had been used at the consecration, but additionally Robert may also have paid for new vestments, altar plate and cloth, saint's images, ceremonial robes for nobles or the actual memorialisation of the rite and its participants in text, image or even stained glass.⁵⁷ Elsewhere, Abbot Bower's recitation of an *ex voto* prayer-inscription displayed within the cathedral, extant in his own day, listing the many nations of foreign pilgrims to St Andrews, provides a strong indication of the intended impact and dissemination of such commemoration (and thus Robert's allied hopes of declaring his legitimacy as king).⁵⁸ Similarly, we have no evidence of any feasting or courtly celebration which might naturally have followed the consecration. However, rather than remaining in St Andrews for such hospitality (with the king and other dignitaries resident in the priory Guest Hall) it is tempting to speculate that with his full excommunication and interdict imminent – and papal legates present in England – the king

53 *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, p. 5.

54 McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 70–71. The south-side statue was the main image of St Andrew.

55 Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the Saints from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), p. 139.

56 *Pontifical Offices Used by David de Bernham Bishop of St Andrews*, pp. 53, 96–7.

57 *ER*, vol. i; McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', p. 69. At Durham Cathedral Priory, important patrons' portraits were displayed before the door to the choir, including images of monarchs of England and Scotland: *Rites of Durham*, pp. 20–22. Robert I's final chamberlain's account included payment to the bishop of St Andrews for a mitre and crozier purchased for use in the king's chapel, items perhaps used on 5 July 1318: *ER*, vol. i, p. 211.

58 McRoberts, 'The Glorious House of St Andrew', pp. 101–2.

and his great subjects instead took steps to intensify and extend their public demonstrations of faith and regnal solidarity.⁵⁹

For the next day, Thursday 6 July, was the date of foundation of the second secular church of the realm, Glasgow Cathedral, with its cult of St Kentigern and the very see which Edward II was then working so hard to prevent Robert I filling with an effective provision.⁶⁰ A day later, Friday 7 July, was of course the Translation feast of St Thomas, the Canterbury martyr and dedicatee of Arbroath Abbey (Robert's chancery), a cult figure the king revered generally for his sacrificial defiance of English monarchy.⁶¹ It may reflect the guidance of St Andrews clerics that Robert's gift, Fordoun church, twenty-five miles north of Arbroath in the Mearns, was dedicated to St Palladius, celebrated as the first Christian bishop of Ireland (where Edward Bruce was still engaged as claimant High King) but believed by Scottish medieval clerics and chroniclers (dubiously) to have in fact pioneered missions to Scotland c.430 as a contemporary of St Serf: Palladius' feast day was also 7 July.⁶² These additional cult feasts on 6–7 July might then easily have been marked by further services before altars and relics within St Andrews Cathedral.⁶³ Moreover, within the Octave of attendance

59 Robert's next extant act is dated at Leithie in Perthshire on 27 July: *RRS*, p. 145 ('Itinerary'), and no. 138.

60 Archibald A.M. Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', in Richard Fawcett (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow* (London, 1998), pp. 9–24. Robert I's concern to (re)build and maintain links with this cult and see are further reflected in his patronage: for example, on 25 February 1315 he had re-assigned fermes from Rutherglen and Cadzow for officials and lights at St Kentigern's tomb in Glasgow Cathedral (first granted 'in the time of King Alexander [III] of good memory, our predecessor'); then on 20 October 1321 Robert would gift the church of St Kentigern in Kirkmahoe parish, Nithsdale, just north of Dumfries (and a few miles west of the Bruce's Lochmaben), to Arbroath Abbey, 'in honour of God, the Virgin and St Thomas martyr': *RRS*, nos 50, 203.

61 Michael Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178–c.1404', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32/4 (2006): pp. 346–70. 7 July was also the death date of Edward I in 1307. Under Sarum use, the Sunday after 7 July (so 9 July in 1318) became the collective Feast of the Relics, venerating all the saints represented in a church: Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, p. 118.

62 For Palladius see: Alexander Boyle, 'Notes on Scottish Saints', *IR*, 32/2 (1981): pp. 59–82, at p. 71; *Early Sources for Scottish History, AD 500 to 1286*, (ed.) Alan O. Anderson (2 vols, Stamford, 1990), vol. i, p. 127; *Chron. Fordun*, vol. i, pp. 93–4, 153, and vol. ii, pp. 56, 142, 395; *Chron. Bower*, vol. ii, pp. 21, 23, 299, and vol. iv, p. 11, and vol. ix, p. 73. Later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish calendars moved Palladius' feast to 6 July, distinguishing it from 7 July which had morphed into the day 'King Edward ye I of England was slane be ye king of Scotland at Carli[s]le': *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, (ed.) Alexander P. Forbes (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. 102, 132–3, 156–7. Dairsie church (Fife) was dedicated to the Virgin; Abercrombie (now part of St Monans, Fife) to the Virgin and St Margaret: James M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh, 1914), pp. 7, 105.

63 St Andrews may have held sealed letters of Archbishop Becket which could be treated as relics. Glasgow Cathedral is known to have housed relics of St Thomas (a comb and a piece of his hair shirt), with St Kentigern described in his *vita* as his ally: John Dowden, 'The Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Relicks, Vestments, Service Books &c. belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432 ...', *PSAS*, 33 (1898–99): pp. 280–329.

at the consecration, the Scottish community might also commemorate the death of King Alexander II (8 July 1249), Robert's own (forty-fourth) birthday (11 July) and the inauguration of Alexander III (13 July 1249).⁶⁴

This then was an impressive royal, church and state occasion, far more assured and expansive than the improvised inauguration of 1306. Within a run of red-letter days the excommunicated king of Scots and his community would have been able to venerate an apostle (Scotland's patron saint), a leading 'insular' cult and a universal Christian and Papal favourite. That Robert and his chief councillors continued to see great value in such combined secular and liturgical events and their meaning is confirmed not merely by the associative language deployed in the 'Declaration' of Arbroath sent to John XXII in 1320 (which again referenced the children of Israel and Christ's Passion) but also by a further possible Palm Sunday and Easter celebration in 1328.⁶⁵ In that year Robert's peace treaty with Edward III of England, acknowledging Scottish sovereignty, was ratified at Holyrood Abbey near Edinburgh on 17 March. This was a secular accord which could have been followed by ceremonial to mark the anniversary of Robert's inauguration as king on the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin (25 March), followed by a Palm Sunday procession and mass (27 March) in an abbey which housed further Holy Cross relics associated with St Margaret (with her 'Black Rood' to be returned under the terms of the treaty) and which might also be venerated at Easter (3 April): all this, it should be noted, in a year in which the calendar and thus liturgy were aligned with that of 1306, thus affording a symbolic 'full-circle' completion of Bruce's struggle for Scotland.⁶⁶ It is also possible that an ailing Robert participated in a final Palm and Easter Sunday week of worship during his pilgrimage from Cardross (Dumbartonshire) to Whithorn Cathedral Priory (Wigtownshire), in March–April 1329 (a year which aligned with the calendar of 1318).⁶⁷

Conclusion

Taken together with the symbolism of Robert I's state funeral and tomb in Dunfermline Abbey after his death on 7 June 1329, the identification of these rituals highlights a vital strand of the efforts of Robert and his ministers to define, project and defend the institutions and sovereignty of the Scottish kingdom and the Bruce dynasty.⁶⁸ Such choreographed occasions, moreover, are

64 Michael Penman, "'Sacred Food for the Soul": In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306–1329', *Speculum*, 88/4 (2013), pp. 1–28, with a speculative calendar of Robert I's devotions.

65 *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, pp. 5–9; *RRS*, nos 335–48; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 282–95.

66 *RRS*, no. 342.

67 *Ibid.*, nos 362–76; Penman, *Robert the Bruce*, pp. 296–302.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 302–8. A contemporary Bruce epitaph also described the king 'as gentle as Andrew': *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, pp. 47–9. The date of Robert's funeral is unknown but might have been 24 June or 7 July.

all the more meaningful for a king and community facing not just civil war and English aggression but the added external threats of Papal excommunication and interdict (which were also finally lifted by late 1328).⁶⁹ The liturgical elements of these ceremonies, as well as Robert's dedication to a core group of native and dynastic churches, saints and relics, certainly overturn the propaganda efforts of Edward II and his churchmen to impress upon the Papacy at Avignon the sacrilegious and treasonous nature of the vassal Scottish realm. This was an English campaign which even saw such an anti-Edward II source as the contemporary *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (which ended c.1325–26) assert that when the excommunicate Bruce forced a chaplain to perform mass, 'a dove coming down from above clearly appeared to all, and in the sight of everyone carried off the Host, plucked from the priest's hand'.⁷⁰ It is tempting, indeed, to read this report as a deliberate English distortion of news of the St Andrews consecration and attendant crowds on 5 July 1318, lest it induce the sympathy of the papal legates then present in England and who had been roughly handled by northern English nobles, just as Edward II was trying to browbeat John XII.⁷¹

69 *CPL*, vol. ii, p. 289.

70 *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, (trans.) and (ed.) Wendy R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), p. 155.

71 Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (London and New Haven, 2011), pp. 284–7, 324–7, 339–42.

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6 Edward III and the Art of Authority

Military Triumph and the Decoration of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster 1330–1364

James Hillson

Although the architecture of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, has long attracted the attention of scholars, comparatively little emphasis has been placed on the structure's extensive programmes of painted, glazed and sculpted decoration. Constructed between 1292 and 1348 under three separate kings, the influential quality of the Collegiate chapel's architecture on the history of the English Decorated and Perpendicular styles has led to multiple interpretations of its design, construction sequence and wider significance. A long series of alterations engendered by the building's use as the House of Commons (including a significant remodelling c.1548–55, its conversion to a classical interior c.1678–79, Christopher Wren's removal of its clerestory c.1691–1700 and James Wyatt's unsympathetic re-gothicisation of the interior c.1800), together with its destruction by fire in 1834, led to a group of antiquarian publications around the turn of the eighteenth century which aimed to record and restore the chapel's remaining medieval fabric.¹ This work has subsequently been built on by architectural historians such as Maurice Hastings, John Harvey, Howard Colvin and Christopher Wilson.² Originally a five-bay, two-storied structure with an upper and lower chapel (Figure 6.1), St Stephen's appearance betrayed the influence of a complex construction history on its design and innovative stylistic detailing.

However, the antiquarians' recording zeal was not merely confined to architecture. With Wyatt's stripping of the wooden panelling surrounding the upper chapel interior in 1800 came the discovery of a host of figural images, narratives,

1 John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster* (London, 1795); John Thomas Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807); Benjamin Britton and Edward Brayley, *The History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster* (London, 1836); Frederick Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, the Late House of Commons* (London, 1844).

2 Maurice Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel and its Place in the Development of Perpendicular Style in England* (Cambridge, 1955); John Harvey, 'The Origin of the Perpendicular Style', in Edward M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History* (London, 1961), pp. 134–65; Howard Colvin, *The History of the King's Works* (7 vols, London, 1963), vol. i, pp. 510–22; Christopher Wilson, 'The Origins of the Perpendicular Style and its Development to Circa 1360' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1979).

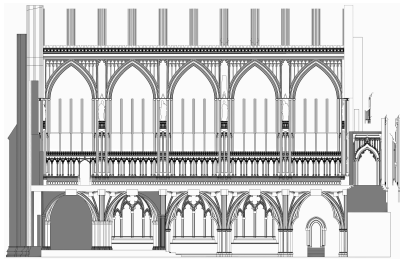


Figure 6.1 St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, longitudinal section (James Hillson). See plate section

decorative painting, glass fragments and sculptural details at the chapel's east end, features meticulously preserved by artists through drawings and engravings.³ Following the fire of 1834 further discoveries were made, with more paintings emerging from the ruined fabric and sculptural elements uncovered from beneath the chapel's floor-boards.⁴ What emerged was the image of a bright, polychromatic interior, colour-coded to the red and blue of the royal arms and encompassing a mixture of

heraldic display, Old and New Testament narratives, angels, saints and images of the royal family. The extant financial accounts identify Edward III as principal patron of this programme, as reflected in the prominent, dominating positioning of his likeness at the east end to the left of the altar.

Yet despite the bountiful quantity and availability of sources, few attempts have been made to subject the king's decorative programmes to detailed iconographic analysis. Furthermore, both in chronological and quantitative terms, the full extent of Edward III's decorative works at the chapel has been omitted from academic study.⁵ Paul Binski has considered the paintings (all datable from the financial accounts to 1350–63) primarily in relation to the appearance of Italianate influences in painting in fourteenth-century England (dealing incidentally with its associations with kingship and the cult of saints), but this was not integrated with a wider study of the chapel's sequential schemes of decoration.⁶ Even the most recent work analysing this material, an article by Emily Howe, was narrowly focused on the paintings originally flanking the high altar and considered their relationship with their surroundings only in general terms. Emphasising both the chapel's audience, which she identified as consisting primarily of the king and his family, the college's canons, the highest echelons of the court and pilgrims, and the familial qualities of this 'theatrical depiction of the entire royal family', Howe aimed to explore the imagery's functionality as an 'expression of Plantagenet dynastic stability'.⁷ Yet, whilst Howe's analysis of the imagery's role in the mediation and reinforcement of royal authority was fruitful, its limitation to a single image and its familial connotations prevented

3 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. vi.

4 Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, pp. 21, 28.

5 In addition to authors discussed below, the paintings are also the subject of ongoing doctoral research conducted by Jane Spooner at the Courtauld Institute, London.

6 Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 182–5.

7 Emily Howe, 'Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display: The Altar Wall Murals of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 81 (2001): pp. 259–304.

its integration within the wider imaging processes at work within the chapel's decorative programmes.

Whilst it is impossible here to give a complete account of the chapel's iconography, as much work remains to be done, it is possible to locate certain elements of it within the wider physical and political context of the whole. The aim of this article is to reassess the innovative imagery of the upper chapel's east end (including the altar murals and the heraldry of the upper chapel arcading), stepping away from a focus on its dynastic implications towards the interaction of its hagiographical and heraldic content. Positioned as they were in the midst of a time of rapid and lasting change in the articulation of royal personality through heraldry, portraiture and other symbolic means (a process which was to continue throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), the murals comprised a new and influential public expression of underlying shifts in the mode of proclaiming royal authority through imagery.⁸ By analysing the changes in iconography occurring throughout the chronology of Edward III's decorative works within the chapel (specifically painted and sculptural), this study will provide insight into the reasoning behind the chapel's inventive iconographic details whilst orienting them within these wider contemporary shifts in royal self-imaging. Furthermore, by considering these observations in the political context of Edward's reign, in particular domestic unrest and changing fortunes in warfare during the 1330s and 1340s, it aims to provide a new interpretation of the chapel's imagery as the product of a peculiar relationship between the proclamation and reinforcement of royal authority through images and military triumph. Developments in heraldry, the prominence of cults of royal saints and the iconography of kingship can all be linked to a new approach to the visual articulation of authority, the catalyst for which is revealed in the sequential chronology of the decoration itself.

The Decoration of St Stephen's Chapel: 1330–1364

Though largely destroyed by Wyatt's restorations and the 1834 fire, and suffering from many losses before those events, there remain sufficient sources to reconstruct a large proportion of Edward III's decorative programmes at St Stephen's. Some fragments of the narrative paintings from beneath the windows of the easternmost bay remain in the British Museum (accession number 1814,0312.2); the Society of Antiquaries sponsored a series of drawings recording the paintings uncovered in 1800 by the architectural draughtsman Richard Smirke (Society of Antiquaries Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/1–28), later converted to engravings; the antiquarian John Thomas Smith published his

8 For studies dealing with this subject see below (n. 54); Caroline Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard', and Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 69–81, 83–104.

independent drawings of the same as plates, and the bosses of the lower chapel vault remain in heavily restored form in Charles and Edward Barry's reconstruction of the chapel of c.1840–65. In addition, extensive financial accounts for the construction survive in the Particulars and Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer, demonstrating that the chapel's decoration with painting, sculptures and glazing was not initiated before 1330 and can therefore be associated directly with Edward III's re-initiation of works after attaining majority.⁹ Up until 1348, with architectural elements still being completed, the extant figurative decoration was sculptural, but after 1350 the chapel was enveloped in a complex programme involving paintings, glazing, stone and wood sculptures, tin prints and liturgical furnishings. There are thus two programmes of decoration under Edward III at St Stephen's – an early sculptural one dating from the 1330s and a later more complex one executed 1350–64.

The first of these programmes consisted of a relatively conventional set of images with a firmly established tradition in Plantagenet iconography. Study of the Exchequer accounts reveals a pair of statues was produced in August–September 1333 depicting St Edward, King and Confessor, and St John the Evangelist as pilgrim.¹⁰ These referred to the story of Edward and the ring, a staple of the Confessor's hagiography first appearing in Aelred's mid-twelfth-century *Vita Sancti Edwardi* and again in the thirteenth-century *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*.¹¹ At the dedication service for St John's Chapel at Clavering, the king was reputedly visited by a poor man begging for alms and, finding no silver or gold to hand, gifted him a ring. Later, two English pilgrims in Syria were guided by the same man who revealed himself to be St John and bade them return the ring to the king, reciprocating the act of charity.¹² This particular iconography had been popularised by Henry III who was responsible not only for at least six painted versions of the scene in his lifetime, but also a pair of statues of Edward and John as Pilgrim at triforium level in the south transept of Westminster Abbey (1250s) which may well have acted as inspiration for the St Stephen's group.¹³ The account entries for these latter statues record their installation in the chapel's recently-completed east gable,¹⁴ and can therefore presumably be associated with the two river-facing niches flanking the exterior of the great east window recorded by antiquarians.

9 Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, vol. i, pp. 510–22.

10 TNA, E 101 469/12, m. 24–5. These accounts are presently being prepared for publication in a Leverhulme-funded project by Maureen Jurkowski and Tim Ayers based at the University of York.

11 Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 54–5.

12 *The History of Saint Edward the King by Matthew Paris*, (trans.) and (ed.) Thelma Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Tempe, 2008), pp. 98–100.

13 Guildford (twice), the Painted Chamber, Westminster, Ludgershall and Northampton (twice). *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (Public Record Office, 3 vols, 1916–37), vol. iii (1245–51), p. 32; vol. iv (1251–60), pp. 21, 97, 263; vol. v (1260–67), p. 21; Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London, 1986), p. 40; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 74.

14 TNA, E 101 469/12 m. 24–5.

To this pair of sculptures can be added the bosses of the Lower Chapel vault. As originally observed by Howard Colvin, the figural bosses of the vault's ridge-rib form a series of martyrdoms of a date considerably later than their architectural surroundings.¹⁵ Heavily restored and replaced 1858–63, their original appearance is recorded in a 1790 engraving by antiquarian John Carter (Figure 6.2). From east to west the bosses depicted the martyrdoms of SS Stephen, John the Evangelist, Catherine, Margaret and Lawrence interspersed by musician angels, foliage and other forms, and can be dated stylistically to the 1330s. As the work of Stella Mary Newton has shown, clothing fashions for men changed extremely fast in the fourteenth century, a trend equally prevalent in the visual arts allowing male figures to be dated securely from their clothing to within a decade.¹⁶ By the 1340s, the principal changes were already being subjected to monastic criticism. In the *Grandes Chroniques de France* of 1344–50 the author blamed the apparent sins of the youth of France for their defeat at Crécy in 1346 and launched a tirade against their choice of clothing, condemning the tightness of the costume, minstrel-like liri-pipes which dangled wastefully from the hood and the use of many opulent cloths in a single garment.¹⁷ To this observed tightening of clothes can be added the shortening of tunics and lowering of belt-lines which eventually culminated in a distinctive s-curve shape appearing in depictions after 1350.¹⁸ Within this stylistic narrative, the figures of the torturers on the Stephen and John bosses can be positioned relatively early. The closest comparisons can be found in the figures of the Luttrell Psalter of c.1330–45, in particular through their shared motif of the tunics shortened to above the knee and split in the centre (Figure 6.3). Such continental styles were first introduced into England by Philippa of Hainault and the courtiers accompanying her from the Low Countries upon her marriage to Edward III in 1330, but the bosses were probably finished by 1336 when a large supply of tiles was purchased for the chapel floor and installed between February and March, indicating the vault's completion.¹⁹ Consequently they can be dated to c.1330–36, contemporaneous with the Edward and John statues.



Figure 6.2 'Six Bassorelievos in the center of the groins of the undercroft of the chapel', in John Carter, *Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in England, 1780* (Parliamentary Archives). See plate section

15 Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, vol. i, p. 513.

16 Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340–1365* (Woodbridge, 1980).

17 Ibid., pp. 9–10.

18 Ibid., p. 30.

19 TNA, E 101 469/20, m. 1–2.



Figure 6.3 Luttrell Psalter, British Library Add. MS 42130, Bas-de-page of folios 197v (below) and 198r (above), c.1340 (British Library). See plate section

In iconographic terms the bosses represented little that was new. Produced in emulation, no doubt, of the iconographically similar painted medallions of the Sainte-Chapelle's dado arcade executed c.1246–48, the martyrdoms followed a trend of typological emulation of this French archetype well-established both in Henry III's iteration of St Stephen's, through its painted Apostles encircling the interior, Last Judgment at the west end and Old Testament narrative (1250–53); and the 1292–1348 structure with its two-storey, five-bay structure and octagonal corner turrets.²⁰ In choice of saints, too, the bosses were particularly traditional, not just for their longstanding association with Plantagenet kings, but also through local topographical associations within the Westminster area.

The first two bosses, originally separated from the others by a chancel screen, consisted of SS Stephen and John the Evangelist, patron saints of the two principal royal chapels of the Palace of Westminster from the twelfth century onwards.²¹ Margaret and Catherine were longstanding subjects of royal patronage – they had both been depicted frequently on the interior of Henry III's Palace chapels and the hospital of St-Katharine's-at-the-Tower had regularly received royal gifts since its foundation by King Stephen's wife, Matilda.²² However, they also represented the dedications of the two churches flanking Westminster Abbey – St Margaret's parish church on the north side and the infirmary chapel of St Katharine's on the south. Similarly, Lawrence represented the dedication of the private chapel adjoining the king's Painted Chamber nearby.²³ In combination, the 1330s sculptures were informed not just by traditional modes of Plantagenet artistic patronage, but also their time-honoured surroundings at Westminster. Typological connections with his saintly predecessor,

20 Robert Branner, 'The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 58/2 (1968): pp. 1–42; Emily Guerry, 'The Wall Paintings of the Sainte-Chapelle' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013), esp. pp. 89–93; Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, pp. 64–5, 83–5.

21 For chancel screen see Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel*, Plate VII; Wilson, 'The Origins of the Perpendicular Style', p. 55. For chapels of SS Stephen and John see Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, vol. i, pp. 493, 502–3.

22 Tancred Borenius, 'The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943): pp. 40–50; Catherine Jamison, *The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katharine by the Tower of London* (London, 1952).

23 Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, vol. i, p. 497.

the Confessor, and the saints patronised by his forebears were the *modus operandi* for the recorded elements of Edward III's decorative programme in this early period of his reign.

The painting and decoration of the upper chapel, however, presents a stark contrast with a remarkable shift in iconographic emphasis. Some elements were fairly contiguous with the themes of the 1330s decoration, in particular the Old Testament narratives painted below the windows (of which only the stories of Job and Tobit from the north and south sides respectively survive) and the possible inclusion of martyrdoms in the same location.²⁴ However, these ele-

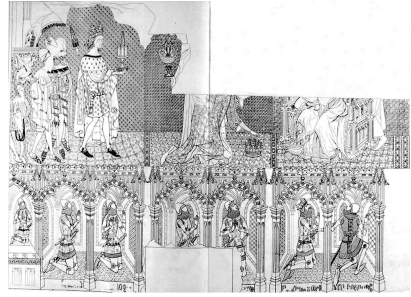


Figure 6.4 Richard Smirke, engraving of east end wall paintings at St Stephen's, left of the altar, in John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen*, 1795 (Parliamentary Archives). See plate section

ments were increasingly marginalised in favour of heraldic display, innovative iconography and references to military triumph. The conventional saints of the 1330s did not reappear in the recorded elements of the upper chapel's interior decoration, replaced by a new emphasis on warrior saints such as Eustace and Mercurius encircling the interior on the piers (depicted in J.T. Smith's engraving and a drawing by Sir George Naylor) and St George, the Virgin Mary and the Three Magi which dominated the east end (Figure 6.4). Even St Stephen was conspicuously absent from the chapel's programme (though it is possible he was present in the central reredos), and references to Edward the Confessor were relegated to the heraldic shields of the chapel's lower cornice where it was subordinated to the arms of St George. New saints came to the forefront, coupled with an unprecedented emphasis on the images of Edward III and his family being led by St George in veneration of the Virgin Mary on either side of the lower band of the east end. Between the decoration of the 1330s and its resumption after 1348 there was a paradigm shift; not just in the depiction of the relationship between a monarch and his surrounding saints, but in the choice of saints themselves, the king's relationship with the nobility expressed through heraldry and, by extension, the processes by which royal authority was mediated and maintained iconographically.

Triumphant Heraldry

By far the most influential political change to occur between the two programmes was the opening stages of what became the Hundred Years War. Following the death of Charles IV of France without issue in 1328, Edward's

24 A martyrdom of St Eustace was noted by Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 153.

mother, Isabella, had made an unsuccessful claim to the French throne on his behalf. Though Edward initially paid liege homage to the new French king, Philip VI, in 1331 the situation soon began to break down. Increasing French demands on English continental possessions, coupled with a desire to break free from the constraints of feudal allegiance and diplomatic negotiations with his Flemish allies in preparation for war, eventually resulted in Edward formally renewing his claim to the French throne at Ghent in 1340.²⁵ The initial phases of the resulting war were a time of great instability for the English monarch – his assumption of the French throne surprised many of the established nobility, and concerns were voiced in Parliament regarding wartime financial pressures and the low probability of success. Despite his early military victory at Sluys (1340), Edward's failure in organising continental military alliances and the contemporary developing stalemate in Scotland, coupled with the grandiose presumption of his claims, sapped support from the established nobility.²⁶ This was particularly evidenced following the king's rapid return from Flanders in 1340, when Edward's heavy-handed treatment of Chancellor John Stratford created a rift with his ministers and Parliament who protested openly against the king's actions.²⁷ In part this was symptomatic of the wider insecurity of royal authority during his early reign. Edward III's father was deposed and murdered, and suffered an unstable reign dominated by clashes with a recalcitrant baronage who had directly challenged royal authority through the 1311 Ordinances and supported them in Civil War (1320–21).²⁸ Whilst those who aided Edward in the capture and execution of the regent Mortimer in 1330 had formed a small core of loyal, dedicated supporters, his attempts to insert them into the upper echelons of the realm through land and titles in 1337 had served only to generate further friction with the existing magnates, possibly drawing comparisons with his father's rapid promotion of favourites, such as Piers Gaveston and the Despensers.²⁹ As late as 1341, even with the king's military achievements at sea and on land, royal authority was in a precarious state.

However, the king's seemingly miraculous military successes in France and Scotland during the later 1340s provided a strong unifying factor for the English nobility. As Mark Ormrod has argued, repeated victories against overwhelming odds at Crécy (August 1346) and the siege of Calais (1346–47), coupled with more successful campaigns against Scotland culminating in the battle of Neville's Cross (October 1346), vindicated the king's strategy and claims to the French throne, creating a powerful, enduring bond of unity

25 W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (2nd rev. edn, Stroud, 2005), pp. 21–2.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 22–6.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–9.

28 Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 165–74, 378–408.

29 Caroline Shenton, 'Edward III and the Coup of 1330', in James S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 13–34; Ian Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation* (London, 2008), pp. 137–8; Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. 24.

with his nobility.³⁰ By the time of his triumphant return to England in 1347, Edward's campaigns had directly involved more or less every nobleman of note in England from the great magnates down to the lesser nobility. Through success in warfare, he was able not only to integrate his new friends as allies on the field of battle, but also to unite the existing nobles behind the authority of a victorious monarch.

The second decorative programme of St Stephen's, begun in the immediate aftermath of the king's return from France, was a direct visual evocation of this newfound balance. Triumphant in its repeated display of the alternating arms of England and France, the chapel's use of heraldry was carefully orchestrated to place the king within the supporting wartime hierarchy of the community of the realm. Positioned in the cornice of the upper chapel wall arcade was a series of shields flanked by grotesques and organised hierarchically from east to west, the tinctures of the first bay being recorded in two engravings by Smith published 1807 (Figure 6.5). Beginning with arms of the battle banners of England on the north side – the arms of SS George, Edmund the Martyr, England and Edward the Confessor which had accompanied the English armies since the reign of Edward I – the shields proceeded through the arms of the queen and her sons before continuing with the great earls and nobles of the realm (see Table 6.1). Coupled with the battle banners, the shields read like a heraldic roll of honour and evoke the unity of the king with his nobility during warfare. Heraldic displays of this kind were not new. There are several comparable non-permanent examples, such as the shields installed in the great hall of Louis IX of France's Old Temple residence in 1254.³¹ However, permanent architectural equivalents often took on a markedly different subtext. The painted and sculpted shields in Westminster Abbey (c.1253–59; also at arcading level and arranged hierarchically) and York Minster (1291–1320) naves were similar in format, but remarkably different in their emphasis on patronage and international genealogical connections with other monarchs.³² The St Stephen's shields were, by contrast, the Anglo-centric products of a single patron and

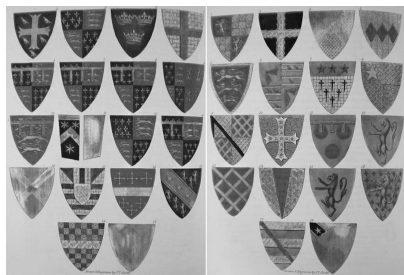


Figure 6.5 Engraving of Upper Chapel lower cornice shields, in J.T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 1807 (Parliamentary Archives). See plate section

30 Ibid., pp. 29–34.

31 Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster', *Archaeological Journal*, 114 (1957): pp. 92–105, at p. 104.

32 Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 32–3, 76–80; David Carpenter, 'Westminster Abbey and the Cosmati Pavements in Politics, 1258–1269', in Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer (eds), *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 38–41; Sarah Brown, 'Our Magnificent Fabrick': York Minster – An Architectural History c.1220–1500 (Swindon, 2003), pp. 88–92, 123–5, 278.

Table 6.1 Arms of the Arcading Cornice, St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster

Position (numbered east to west)	North side arcading		South side arcading	
	Arms	Military Service	Arms	Military Service
1	St George	–	Richard Fitzalan	Crécy
2	St Edmund the Martyr	–	Robert de Ufford	Crécy
3	Edward III	–	Ralph Stratford	Crécy
4	St Edward the Confessor	–	William de Montagu	Crécy
5	Philippa of Hainault*	–	Thomas Holland	Flanders, Caen, Crécy
6	Edward the Black Prince*	Crécy	John Hastings** (Lawrence Hastings)	(Sluys, Tournai, Calais)
7	Lionel of Antwerp*	–	William de Clinton	Crécy
8	John of Gaunt*	–	John de Vere	Crécy
9	Edmund of Langley*	–	Hugh Despenser	Crécy
10	Thomas of Woodstock*	–	William Lovell	Crécy
11	Unknown, split	–	Hugh Courtenay	Crécy
12	Henry of Grosmont	Sluys	Henry Percy	Crécy, Neville's Cross
13	William Bohun	Sluys, Crécy	James Audley	Sluys, Crécy, KG
14	Thomas Beauchamp	Crécy	John de Sutton	Crécy
15	Roger Mortimer	Crécy	Henry Beaumont (Henry Beaumont)**	(Halidon Hill)
16	Ralph Neville	Neville's Cross, (his son served at Crécy)	Thomas Braose	Crécy
17	Unknown, deteriorated	–	John de Grey	Crécy
18	Roger Clifford** (Robert Clifford)	–	Unknown, deteriorated	–

*Family of Edward III, the latter four sons in their minority.

**Heir to the title replacing a predecessor whose military service is appended in brackets.

emphasised his nobles' roles as military commanders and supporters of royal authority through warfare.

The effectiveness of this visual strategy and its influence on the bond between king and nobility is demonstrated by its re-iteration in a funereal monument of the same period. Executed following his death due to a sickness contracted during the siege of Calais in 1347, the Hugh Hastings brass in the Church of St Mary at Elsing (Norfolk) represents a re-organisation of the same heraldic and hagiographical elements present in the St Stephen's programme.³³ Flanked by figures of the lords under whom he had served (including Edward) in full heraldry, the tomb evoked the bonds formed by a man whose long military service took him to Scotland, Sluys, Flanders, Crécy and Calais. Similar displays had appeared on prior commemorative monuments, notably the Peter de Dene window at York Minster (c.1306–10) which included the figures and arms of individuals the patron had encountered whilst in the king's diplomatic service,³⁴ but in the Hastings brass they were being presented in an entirely new idiom. Whereas the de Dene window was, like Westminster Abbey, international in its contents (including figures of the king and queen of France and the arms of the Empire, Provence, Castile-León and Navarre alongside leading English nobles and his own monarch), the Elsing brass retained an intra-national focus which emphasised personal bonds between king and nobility established on the battlefield. As in St Stephen's, St George and the Virgin Mary's presence acted as the mediator of this interchange. Edward and his family being guided in veneration of Marian imagery was paralleled visually by the uppermost sections of the Hastings brass wherein his soul is guided towards the Virgin being crowned by Christ via a figure of St George who provided protection by spearing a devil.³⁵ The association between king and saint was further referenced in the pennons with St George's arms held by Edward and his relative Henry of Grosmont, probably indicative of their status as knights of the Garter, the Order dedicated to the saint founded by Edward c.1348. Whether on the monumental scale of St Stephen's or the more modest one at Elsing, artistic and architectural heraldic display after Edward's return from France was utilised to articulate visually the position of knights such as Hastings within the apparatus of support for Edward III's authority through shared martial experience and the patronage of St George.

Iconographic Displacement and the Cult of St George

The association of George with the armies of England specifically was not a new development under Edward III. The first documented appearance of

33 Paul Binski, 'The Coronation of the Virgin on the Hastings Brass at Elsing, Norfolk', *Church Monuments*, 1 (1985): pp. 1–9.

34 Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass at York Minster* (London, 1999), pp. 34–7.

35 Lynda Dennison and Nicholas Rogers, 'The Elsing Brass and its East Anglian connections', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England*, 1 (2000): pp. 167–93, at pp. 167–8.

George's cross amongst the battle banners of England is among those prepared by Edward I for his Scottish campaigns of 1296–1300, comprising the arms of England (twice), George, Edmund, King and Martyr, and Edward, King and Confessor; but it had appeared earlier in a series of bracers and pennons for the archers and foot soldiers of the army in Wales in 1277.³⁶ Edward had shown continuing personal interest in the saint during peace time with alms given on the saint's day and several oblations to institutions dedicated to him,³⁷ but these were relatively low key and outstripped by his other saintly devotions. Even the statue of George he gifted to St Thomas' shrine at Canterbury in 1285, likely a votive offering following his recent victories in Wales, was accompanied by another of Edward the Confessor, fellow patron of the English armies.³⁸ By the time Edward III was employing it on the battlefields of Scotland and France, use of St George's arms and his patronage of the English armies were well established. However, the step from a military saint, in which George was a fairly universal choice equally patronised by the French (who had themselves intended to found a knightly order under the patronage of George and the Virgin in 1344),³⁹ to a national, even royal, patron saint of England was a significant change which occurred during Edward III's reign. Whilst before the 1340s there was little indication of his status as a national idol, by 1351 a grant of tenths in the Patent Rolls for the two chapels of St Stephen's, Westminster, and St George's, Windsor, showed no incongruity in identifying George as 'the most invincible athlete of Christ whose name and protection the English race invoke as that of their peculiar patron, in war especially'.⁴⁰

From the outset, however, Edward III had a different, more personal relationship with the saint than his forebears. In the Walter of Milemete *Treatise*, a text on noble, wise and prudent kingship gifted to the young king between 1324 and 1327 (illuminated 1326–27), was an image of George presenting the arms of England to Edward,⁴¹ implying an individualised link between knighted king and martial saint emphasising more the latter's role as a fellow knight than as the peculiar patron of England. After the king's return from France, however, Edward's patronage generated an unprecedented shift in emphasis towards St George and his role in support of England at war. As has been demonstrated in the case of St Stephen's, established traditions of

36 Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 53, 56–7. Richard I's supposed early role in employing St George has been thoroughly discredited: see Oliver de Laborde, 'Richard the Lionheart and the Birth of a National Cult of St George in England: Origins and Development of a Legend', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995): pp. 36–53.

37 Good, *Cult of St George*, p. 58.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 57; TNA, E 101 369/11.

39 D'Arcy J.D. Boulton, *Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 114.

40 CPR, 1350–54, p. 127.

41 Christ Church, Oxford, MS 92, fol. 3r; Michael Michael, 'The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994): pp. 35–47.

hagiography and iconography in royal patronage were swept aside in favour of a new set of saints derived from the king's personal saintly pantheon of which George was a principal intercessor. One chief indicator of this change was in the king's attempts to establish a knightly order. Before the embarkation of the Crécy campaign, Edward intended to establish a Round Table Order and even got as far as initiating a round building to house it in Windsor Castle (July–November 1344) before the financial pressure of preparations for war disrupted the scheme.⁴² Yet when the concept was revisited following his return from France in 1348, it was reborn as the Order of the Garter, firmly dedicated to St George and largely populated by the king's chivalric companions during the wars in France. Arthurian iconography (heavily influential in tournaments and other forms of public display under Edward I and during the earlier reign of Edward III), the cult of Edward the Confessor (revolutionised by Henry III and a staple of Plantagenet image-making thereafter) and other traditional royal saints, were increasingly displaced from the public imagery of the monarchy in favour of the king's personal saintly supporters. St George appeared prominently in the king's seventh great seal (1360) alongside the Virgin; St Edward's Chapel at Windsor gained an additional dedication to the saint; and last, but not least, St Stephen's was decorated with a programme which emphasised George and the Virgin alongside the king.⁴³ This represented a fundamental shift in the iconographic support of the king's royal image, the king's two knightly orders allowing us to identify the fulcrum as the Crécy campaign of 1346–47.

It is through the St Stephen's programme that the relationship between this shift in royal iconography and the military campaign can be unravelled. At the east end of St Stephen's to the left of the altar, St George was depicted as intercessor at the head of a line of the king and his sons, echoing the kneeling of the king yet guiding his veneration upwards through genuflection and an eloquent yet anatomically impossible crick of the neck. Immediately above, the gazes of king and saint intersected on the Virgin and child enthroned, receiving gifts in an Adoration of the Magi scene. A further visual connection was established between the Magi and the king below, their shared kneeling poses reflecting both their parallel role as supplicatory monarchs and personal association by virtue of an early prophecy which claimed Edward would be buried at their shrine in Cologne.⁴⁴ Edward's awareness of this prophecy is testified by his 1359 public refutation of it at Westminster, and his early personal association with the Magi was reflected in his veneration of their shrine at Cologne

42 Julian Munby, Richard Barber and Richard Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor: The House of the Round Table and the Windsor Festival of 1344* (Woodbridge, 2007).

43 For the seal see Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London, 1987), p. 495. For St George's Chapel see W. Mark Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George: Edward III, Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 13–34, at pp. 20–21.

44 Mortimer, *The Perfect King*, pp. 20–21.

in 1338 shortly before his appointment as Vicar General of the Empire.⁴⁵ Finally, the ambiguous upwards gesture and position of St George also gave him an intercessory role between the king and the central reredos which certainly contained an image of the Virgin (the head of which was found following the 1834 fire) and may well have contained images of the three Magi, three statues of kings having been prepared in 1351 contemporaneously with the reredos's tabernacles.⁴⁶ In invoking saints specifically associated with Edward III through prophecy or personal veneration in a public image and depicting his relationship with them, the St Stephen's composition placed the emphasis as much on the king as the saints themselves. In this regard it was similar to the blind arcading heraldry – just as personal ties with the nobility were articulated visually through the arrangement of arms, so too were those between the king and his supporting saints, the latter associated with the former through the agency of St George in both elements. Shared patronage of St George on the campaign thus permitted the incorporation of his cult into a new visual rhetoric for the cult of kingship. In the St Stephen's images royal authority was supported by personal ties which bound king, saints and nobility together by virtue of warfare. Even the Chapel's music contributed to this conception of monarchy, a surviving fragment attributable to the reign of Edward III invoking the Virgin's intercession whilst giving thanks for Edward's victories.⁴⁷ Personal patronage was translated into national cult in a new iconographic structure focused on the heroism and triumph of the living monarch, an authority established on the field of battle and maintained by continuous noble support and saintly intercession of personal friends.

From Typological Association to Cult of the Living Monarch

These changes evidenced at St Stephen's marked a fundamental shift in the public formulation of royal authority through imagery. The new focus of the 1348–63 programme on Edward III as a heroic victor, his claims and actions verified and proclaimed by his victories in France, divinely favoured through a personal retinue of intercessory supporting saints was an innovative departure in Plantagenet imagery. Prior to his second St Stephen's programme, the key visual strategy in the public articulation of royal authority was typological association. Following his canonisation in 1161, Edward the Confessor had rapidly developed into the role model of an idealised English king – pious, prophetic,

45 W. Mark Ormrod, 'The Personal Religion of Edward III', *Speculum*, 64 (1989): pp. 849–77, at pp. 860–61; *Chronica Johannis de Reading et anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346–1367*, (ed.) James Tait (Manchester, 1914), pp. 132–3.

46 Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, p. 21; Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace*, p. 167. For an image of the Virgin's head, see British Museum 1874, 0314.186.

47 Frank Harrison, 'Polyphonic Music for a Chapel of Edward III', *Music & Letters*, 59 (1978): pp. 420–28.

miraculously gifted, guided by God and the saints alike to acts of charity and pious rule. Henry III's establishment of the Confessor's pre-eminence as royal patron led to the elaboration of a public iconography identifying the present monarch as his typological successor. Whilst instances of this have been referenced above, by far the most prominent was the Painted Chamber at Westminster, wherein the king's bed (symbolic seat of his presence and justice) was pinioned between the archetypal image of royal charity, the legend of Edward and the Ring, and the Confessor's coronation behind.⁴⁸ Through positional relation to images of the Confessor, Plantagenet monarchs proclaimed their typological association with their canonised predecessor. This strategy was employed continuously right up to the 1330s programme at St Stephen's with its own rendition of the Edward and the Ring narratives. A similar process occurred with the secular archetype of English kingship, Arthur. Edward III's tournaments and Round Table Order were a continuation of trends well established at the time of Edward I, who utilised the capture of the crown of Arthur in Wales (1283) and the translation of the legendary ruler's body at Glastonbury (1278) as iconographic cement for his own ambitions, a process further augmented by Round Table tournaments following his victories in Wales and Scotland.⁴⁹ The traditional focus found in the St Stephen's decoration of the 1330s was thus part of a longstanding strategy in royal iconography characterised by drawing relationships between the king and a heroic past which reaffirmed royal authority by association.

What replaced this in the second programme was remarkable in its emphasis on the heroic actions of a living monarch. Non-canonised, non-legendary monarchs had been utilised in royal imagery before, but these examples in the St Stephen's programme differ in that they were narrative in content, only occurred after their respective deaths and remained in the same associative idiom. The duel of Richard I and Saladin painted on the walls of Henry III's palace at Clarendon (1251) was produced alongside images of the Siege of Antioch in the typological context of a king who frequently took the cross and expressed a desire to follow in his predecessor's steps as a crusader.⁵⁰ Similarly, the life of Edward I painted by Edward II reflected a quasi-saintly cult of the dead king which preserved relics such as the knives with which he was nearly assassinated in the Holy Land.⁵¹ By contrast the only associations drawn upon in the 1348–63 programme at St Stephen's Chapel, were the successes of the living king's own life and his support by a personal canon of saints. Whether in the new iconography of St George as principal royal intercessor or in the heraldry which proclaimed

48 Binski, *Painted Chamber*, pp. 34–40.

49 Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 17, 19.

50 Borenus, 'The Cycle of Images', pp. 45–6.

51 M.M. Reeve, 'The Former Painted Cycle of the Life of Edward I at the Bishop's Palace, Lichfield', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 46 (2002): pp. 70–83; Ormrod, 'Personal Religion of Edward III', p. 872.

personal military leadership, the king's authority was based in the individual merit of his military triumphs and not association with a great predecessor.

Not only was this personalising approach to royal self-imaging innovative: the iconographic types it established were also lasting. Just as the depiction of Edward III's family in close visual association with him at St Stephen's effectively transferred the implications of the new imagery onto his descendants, so too was the iconographic type of the king as an individual surrounded by a personal retinue of supporting saints adopted by his successors. Though never crowned, parallel imagery of a prince kneeling before his chosen intercessor was deployed for Edward's firstborn son, the Black Prince, upon his premature death in 1376 in a series of pewter funeral badges depicting his relationship with the developing cult of the Holy Trinity of which two have been preserved.⁵² Equally, the trope was repeatedly redeployed in both public and private contexts by his eventual heir Richard II (1377–99). Though probably used in private devotions, the Wilton Diptych of the late 1390s reflects the arrangement at the St Stephen's east end in its depiction of Edward the Confessor, Edmund the Martyr and John the Baptist, the youthful, idealised king's peculiar patrons, as his guides in veneration of the Virgin, the latter being further personalised through the appending of his White Hart badge to her clothing. This depiction of a personal relationship with saints was given a more public expression in a lost altarpiece, which by the seventeenth century was in the English College in Rome, combining the interaction between kneeling king, Virgin as patron and supporting Saints, including John the Baptist and George, with a national dedication through an accompanying inscription presenting the English nation as the Virgin's dowry.⁵³ Similarly the impalement of Richard's arms with those of the Confessor from 1395, depicted on the Wilton Diptych's exterior,⁵⁴ was a public means of taking personal possession of the saint, a transition from typological model of an English king to personal patron of an individual monarch. Though no longer based in military triumph, Richard II's adoption of comparable image strategies demonstrates that Edward III had created a new and influential paradigm in the visual reinforcement of royal authority.

Conclusions

The change in iconography between the 1330s and 1350–63 programmes at St Stephen's was not isolated – it represented the establishment of a series of new iconographic types in the self-imaging strategies of the English monarchy.

52 Alexander and Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 222, 478–9.

53 Dillian Gordon, 'The Wilton Diptych: An Introduction', in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monas and Caridine Elam (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 19–26, at pp. 24–5.

54 Shelagh Mitchell, 'Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints', in Gordon, Monas and Elam (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II*, pp. 115–24, at p. 117.

Personal identity gained a new emphasis at the expense of deliberate association with past incumbents of the English throne. It is no coincidence that this same age saw the emergence of increasing personalisation in heraldry through the elaboration and systematisation of cadency marks, badges and supporters, or the wider re-appearance of portraiture in the visual arts of the west.⁵⁵ Further study of these areas might serve to elucidate this new phenomenon in English royal imagery, particularly with regard to contemporary rulers on the continent and elsewhere. Though the wider implications of this shift in iconography are yet to be investigated, it is clear that the iconographic displacement and heraldic relationships visualised at St Stephen's were more fundamental changes than have hitherto been understood. It was not just the king's choice of saints which had altered, but the underlying conception of the three-way relationship between saints, nobility and monarch. In utilising his military triumphs and their attribution to St George to articulate the power relations of this monarchy visually, Edward III at St Stephen's paved the way to devising a new art of authority.

55 Robert Gayre, *Heraldic Cadency: The Development of Coats of Arms for Kinsmen and Other Purposes* (London, 1961), pp. 23–119; Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales* (4 vols, London, 2009), vol. i, pp. 1–20; Stephen Parkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago and London, 2009).

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7 Scottish and British?

The Scottish Authorities, Richard III and the Cult of St Ninian in Late Medieval Scotland and Northern England¹

Tom Turpie

In 1550 the Scottish poet Sir David Lindsay (c.1495–c.1555) wrote a scathing attack on what he saw as the idolatrous worship of the saints by his fellow Scots.² Prominent among the individual cults singled out for his wrath was that of ‘*Sanct Ringane*’, a saint that Lindsay chose to symbolise vividly as a rotten wooden statue.³ Lindsay’s distaste for ‘Ringane’, more commonly known as Ninian of Whithorn, was a reaction to the broad popularity of his cult in Scotland, a cult that reached its peak in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. While Ninian had been an important regional patron in the southwest for some centuries, the later Middle Ages saw his cult emerge on a national scale, with recorded devotion to the saint far surpassing that of traditional Scottish patrons like Columba, Margaret and Kentigern.⁴ By the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this popularity had led many Scots, particularly those travelling or living abroad, to embrace Ninian as their unofficial patron saint.⁵ The late fifteenth century also saw the

1 See Figure 7.1 for reference: Depiction of St Ninian from the Elsinore altarpiece housed in the National Museum in Copenhagen. This piece was commissioned by the Scottish mercantile community in the early sixteenth century for their altar in the Olaikirke, Elsinore. Taken by the author.

2 *Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*, (ed.) David Laing (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1879), vol. iii, p. 267.

3 The line reads ‘*Sanct Ringane, of ane rottin stoke*’. John Higgitt has suggested that the Old Scots word *stoke* was a contemptuous term for idols: John Higgitt, ‘From Bede to Rabelais: Or How St Ninian Got his Chains’, in Paul Binski and William Noel (eds), *New Offerings Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 187–209 at p. 204 and n. 55. A wooden statue of St Ninian was found in a bog during excavations near Whithorn and is now housed in the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh: Richard D. Oram et al., *Historic Whithorn* (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 41.

4 The success of the Ninian cult in this period has traditionally been attributed to a combination of promotion by the shrine custodians at Whithorn and a nationalist trend in Scottish religious practice identified by David McRoberts and Leslie Macfarlane. While promotion by the cathedral chapter was a significant factor, it was Ninian’s general reputation as an effective healer and miracle worker that best explains his broad popularity in the later Middle Ages: Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 41–6, 95–108.

5 This patronal role is most apparent in dedications to the saint by Scottish mercantile communities residing in Denmark and Flanders. It may well have been that, as David Ditchburn has suggested, Ninian provided those Scottish communities with a more distinctive patron than the universally

spread of the cult beyond Scotland, most notably across the southern frontier into the kingdom of England, where it was wholeheartedly embraced by the last Plantagenet monarch, Richard III (1483–85). This chapter will examine how the Scottish authorities engaged with the increasing significance of the Ninian cult as a symbol of religious and political authority in late medieval Scotland, consider how the cult was able to bridge the political divide with England and explore the motivation behind patronage of the cult by Richard III.

Ninian Joins the Pantheon of Scottish Saints

The Scottish governmental structures of crown and national church were initially slow to recognise and embrace the growing popularity of the Ninian cult and his development into an informal national patron. Although Robert I (1306–29) visited Whithorn in 1329, the saint and shrine only became the beneficiaries of consistent royal patronage from the 1450s, while regular royal pilgrimages to Whithorn only commenced in the 1460s.⁶ The catalyst for the close bond that developed between saint and crown from the 1450s was the conflict between James II (1437–60) and the Black Douglasses. Crown patronage of the cult and shrine in the 1450s was part of a wider process by which James and his council tried to first interfere with, and after 1455 replace, Black Douglas lordship in the southwest.⁷ Whithorn's status as the



Figure 7.1 The Elsinore Altarpiece (Turpie Collection). See plate section

popular Andrew: Thomas Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages', in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 397–420, at p. 404; Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', p. 202; David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560, Volume 1: Religion, Culture and Commerce* (East Linton, 2000), p. 247.

6 Robert visited Whithorn on 1 April 1329: RRS, p. 157.

7 James II made a number of grants to the priory in what Oram has suggested was a clear attempt to 'undermine the earl of Douglas's position in Galloway': Richard Oram, *A Monastery and its Landscape: Whithorn and Monastic Estate Management in Galloway (c. 1250–c. 1600)* (Whithorn, 2005), pp. 7–8; RMS, vol. ii, nos 453, 459 and 698. Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson have discussed the various political means by which James and his council attempted to win the loyalty of key community leaders in Galloway and other Douglas territories: Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 288–9; Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 179–82.

predominant ecclesiastical centre in the region meant that it formed a natural focus for this patronage, as it had done in the 1310s and 1320s during another period of political fragmentation and conflict in Galloway.⁸ Following James's death in 1460, patronage of Ninian and Whithorn would continue to be a central part of the display of royal authority in the south-west, reaching its peak in the reign of James IV (1488–1513) who made annual pilgrimages to the shrine.⁹

The national church was also slow to incorporate Ninian into their pantheon of Scottish saints. By the later Middle Ages the Scottish religious and secular elites had evolved a confident and coherent vision of their kingdom as a sovereign territory in which the king was the ultimate secular authority.¹⁰ Alongside, and in support of, this narrative of political independence it is possible to identify the development of a distinct history of Christianity in Scotland. This narrative, which can be seen within the diplomatic documents of the Anglo-Scottish wars and the late medieval chronicle tradition, stressed Scotland's separate spiritual development from England and Ireland. Those saints who were deemed to have been active in Scotland provided the chronological markers for this history, with their careers demonstrating the richness and longevity of the kingdom's Christian past and, perhaps more importantly, of its independent ecclesiastical institutions.¹¹

The earliest extended versions of this religious history can be found in the chronicles of John of Fordun (compiled in c.1384–87 but containing earlier materials), Andrew of Wyntoun (1407x24) and Walter Bower (1440s). Within these works the catalyst for the development of Christianity in Scotland was the arrival of St Palladius, sent to Scotland from Rome in c.435AD, with his disciples SS Serf and Ternan.¹² Further important missionary work was carried out during the sixth century by SS Columba in western and central Scotland, Kentigern in Strathclyde and Boniface in the north.¹³ The ninth century was marked by further conversions of the Picts with the help

8 Patronage of Whithorn by the Bruce party was part of a wider policy by which first Edward Bruce, as Lord of Galloway, and later his brother, attempted to assert royal authority in a region previously controlled by their Balliol and Comyn rivals: *RRS*, no. 275.

9 James IV visited the shrine every year from 1491–1513 and made a number of gifts there and at other sites associated with St Ninian. The shrine was also visited on a number of occasions by James III (1460–88) and James V (1513–42): Turpie, *Kind Neighbours*, pp. 96–100, 141–53.

10 This narrative seems to have been first developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was refined during the Anglo-Scottish wars and fleshed out in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chronicles: Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 235–89.

11 Turpie, *Kind Neighbours*, pp. 20–23, 36–40, 44–6.

12 *Chron. Fordun*, vol. i, pp. 85–6; *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. iv, p. 11; *Chron. Bower*, vol. ii, pp. 21–3; Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 215–30 and 261–2.

13 *Chron. Fordun*, vol. ii, pp. 103–5, *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. iv, pp. 11 and 77–91; *Chron. Bower*, vol. ii, pp. 2, 65, 79 and 83–5, and vol. ix, pp. 315–20 and 339–47.

of the newly arrived relics of St Andrew, and by missionary groups who spread the gospel to peripheral areas.¹⁴ The modern era of church organisation was then introduced by the marriage between Margaret and Malcolm III (1058–93) in the eleventh century.¹⁵ Ninian, whose shrine was located in Galloway, a region of traditionally weak royal authority close to the English border and whose bishops were suffragans of York until 1472, sat awkwardly in this patriotic narrative. Although Ninian features in each of these works, he was a marginal figure, described merely as an early apostle of the southern Picts.¹⁶

The first hint of Ninian's integration into this national narrative can be found in Wyntoun, who has Simon Fraser appealing to 'Sancte Andrew, Sanct Nyn-yare, and Sanct Mergret', prior to the battle of Roslyn in 1302.¹⁷ By the second phase of Scottish historical writing in the sixteenth century, Ninian had been fully integrated. While John Major (1521), in his history of '*Greater Britain*' followed the traditional Palladius–Margaret chronology, he assigned a notably wider role to Ninian. Major included an expanded account of the life of the saint and a description of a visit he had made to the shrine at Whithorn, presumably on pilgrimage.¹⁸ Hector Boece (1527) took this a step further, making Ninian, rather than Palladius, the earliest catalyst for the spread of Christianity in Scotland, broadening his role from regional missionary to general apostle of the Scots.¹⁹ This transition from the local to the national is most apparent in the *Aberdeen Breviary* (1510). Within this new national liturgy produced by the bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone (1483–1514), Ninian has pride of place amongst a select group of saints who received an extended entry and double feast.²⁰ As Leslie McFarlane has suggested this is a strong indication that Ninian was thought to 'belong to the nation'.²¹ By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the Scottish church had emulated the crown by fully embracing the Ninian cult. They had integrated Ninian into their history and into the pantheon of national saints, responding to the growing popularity of the cult amongst clerics and laity by celebrating Ninian as a distinctly Scottish saint.

14 The missionary groups led by Boniface of Rosemarkie and Adrian of the Isle of May feature in Wyntoun and Bower: *Chron. Fordun*, vol. ii, pp. 146–7, 170–71; *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. iv, pp. 123, 179; *Chron. Bower*, vol. i, pp. 15, 315, 317.

15 *Chron. Fordun*, vol. ii, pp. 201–10; *Chron. Bower*, vol. v, pp. 337–9.

16 *Chron. Fordun*, vol. ii, pp. 86–7; *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. v, p. 339; *Chron. Bower*, vol. ii, pp. 21–3.

17 *Chron. Wyntoun*, vol. iii, p. 461.

18 John Major, *A History of Greater Britain, As Well England as Scotland*, (trans.) and (ed.) Archibald Constable and Aeneas J.G. Mackay (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 37.

19 Hector Boece, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, (trans.) John Bellenden, (eds) E. Batho and R.W. Chambers (2 vols, STS, Edinburgh, 1938–41), vol. i, p. 271.

20 *Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, (ed.) Alan Macquarrie (Dublin, 2012), pp. 215–28.

21 Leslie Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1995), pp. 237–8.

Richard III, Whithorn and the Cult of Ninian in England

The efforts by the Scottish authorities in the fifteenth century to appropriate Ninian were carried out against a background of the increasing internationalisation of his cult. Central to this growing international interest in Ninian was the miraculous reputation of his shrine at Whithorn.²² Governmental legislation passed in 1427 and 1516 to protect and regulate pilgrimage to Whithorn, indicates that some of the largest proportions of visitors to the shrine came from Ireland, whilst pilgrims from the Isle of Man, Wales, Spain and France were also noted there on an important feast day in the fourteenth century.²³ However, the best and most commonly attested international visitors came from England. References to Ninian and Whithorn in a series of literary works attest the growing reputation of saint and shrine in England from the fourteenth century. The earliest English reference to the shrine comes from Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* (c.1326) which mentions 'Whitherne, where Seynte Ninian, otherwise callede by the commune people Seynt Ronyon, was firste founder and doctor'.²⁴ A 'Seint Ronyan', also features in Geoffrey Chaucer's 'Pardoner's Tale', although the identification of this saint as Ninian has been disputed.²⁵ The saint was certainly one of only three from Scotland who featured in John of Tynemouth's late fourteenth-century *Sanctilogium Angliae*, a compilation of saint's lives from the British Isles.²⁶ Travelling cleric William of Worcester mentioned 'the town of Whithorn where St Ninian lies buried' in 1478, while playwright John Heywood referred to the shrine of 'St Tronion' in a work of 1544.²⁷ Another English observer, Ralph Hollinshead, writing 1578x82,

22 Miracles of various types associated with the saint were also mentioned by Fordun, in the mid-fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints*, by French ambassadors and during the reigns of James IV and James V: *Chron. Fordun*, vol. ii, pp. 86–7; *Legends of the Saints*, (ed.) William M. Metcalfe (2 vols, STS, Edinburgh, 1896), vol. i, pp. 327–42; Louis Barbé, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin* (Glasgow, 1917), pp. 50–54; *TA*, vol. iii, p. 193; *The Letters of James V*, (eds) R.K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954), pp. 362–3.

23 RSS, vol. i, no. 2844. A description of Whithorn on a feast day, that appears to be an eyewitness account, features in the *Legends of the Saints*, vol. ii, pp. 304–45, at pp. 325–6. Three French ambassadors – Girard in 1434, De La Motte in 1508 and Dampier in 1512 – visited Whithorn: Barbé, *Margaret of Scotland*, pp. 50–54; *TA*, vol. iv, pp. 135, 400. A Welsh pilgrim/political refugee, James Griffith, was at Whithorn in 1533 with 8 companions: *State Papers, Published Under the Authority of His Majesty's Commission. King Henry the Eighth* (11 vols, London, 1830–52), vol. iv, pp. 647–51.

24 The quote noted above is from the fifteenth-century English translation: BL, MS Harl 2261; *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) C. Babington (Rolls Series, 9 vols, London, 1865–86), vol. ii, pp. 135, 149.

25 John Sledd, 'Canterbury Tales, L.310, 32: By seynt Ronyan', *Medieval Studies*, 13 (1951): pp. 226–35. Anne Haskell and others have argued that Ronan was a Breton saint: Anne Haskell, *Essays on Chaucer's Saints* (Paris, 1976), p. 18.

26 The legendary also included the lives of Kentigern and Columba: *Nova Legenda Anglie*, (ed.) C. Horstmann (2 vols, Oxford, 1901), vol. ii, pp. xii–xiii and 219–24.

27 *William Worcester Itineraries*, (ed.) J. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp. 6–7; *Plays of John Heywood*, (ed.) R. Axton and P. Happe (Cambridge, 1991), p. 112.

would recall Whithorn as the place where 'lieth his (Ninian's) carcase which is honoured by the people with great superstition and error'.²⁸

These literary references are supported by evidence of growing numbers of English pilgrims at Whithorn in the later Middle Ages. The earliest named English visitor was the future Edward II (1307–27) who called at the shrine in 1301. According to an English spy Edward's visit was also the occasion for a miraculous event. Fearing the consequences of a visit by the Prince of Wales and his entourage, the shrine custodians were said to have moved a famous image of the saint 50 miles east to Sweetheart Abbey for safe keeping. To the amazement of the custodians the image was found to have returned to its normal place the following morning in time for Edward's arrival.²⁹ Further English visitors are noted in the mid-fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints* and within the governmental legislation of 1427.³⁰ Evidence from English wills also suggests that by the fifteenth century Whithorn had been incorporated into a British pilgrimage network. In 1414 Thomas Colliyer, the King of Arms for Ireland, paid for a man to make a posthumous pilgrimage to Whithorn and a series of other northern English shrines on his behalf.³¹ Similar requests for proxy pilgrimages were made in the wills of Margaret Aske of Kelby (1465) and William Eccop, Rector of Heslerton in the East Riding (1472).³² The last recorded bequest of this nature was made in 1540 by Robert Arden of Stockport who asked that a man be hired to make an offering on his behalf at '*Seynt Tryouns in Scotlande*'.³³

Post-mortem inquiries from the late fifteenth century give further details of visits to Whithorn by individual Englishmen. Richard Shepard of the North Riding remembered visiting the shrine in 1482, and John Smyth from Buckingham was there in the same year.³⁴ Further English pilgrims were found at the shrine in the early sixteenth century when James IV is recorded giving alms to four separate groups, while Sir William Tyrwit was granted a safe conduct to

28 Ralph Hollinshead, *The Scottish Chronicle* (2 vols, Arbroath, 1805), vol. i, p. 5.

29 CDS, vol. ii, no. 1225.

30 *Legends of the Saints*, vol. ii, pp. 325–6; RMS, vol. ii, no. 107.

31 Cited in Henry Summerson, 'Carlisle and the English West March', in Anthony Pollard (ed.), *The North of England in the Reign of Richard III* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 89–115, at p. 92. The tour began in London then moved on to Walsingham, and the shrines of John of Beverley, John of Bridlington, William of York and the Marian chapel in Carlisle.

32 Margaret requested that a man travel to Canterbury and Whithorn: *Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, (eds) J. Raine and W. Clay (6 vols, Durham, 1832–1906), vol. ii, pp. 275–6. William specified nineteen shrines, most of which were in the north; Whithorn was the only shrine outside of England mentioned in his will: *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 199–201.

33 The man was first to visit the popular Marian shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk: *Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories*, (ed.) George J. Piccope (3 vols, Chetham Society, 1858–61), vol. ii, pp. 138–41.

34 Smyth is noted as going on pilgrimage to Whithorn from Buckingham whilst Shepard was from Hovingham, just north of York: *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII* (26 vols, London, 1898–1955), vol. ii, nos 640, 652.

visit Whithorn with 16 companions in 1506.³⁵ Two of the visitors given alms by James had been robbed on the pilgrim road and the last recorded English pilgrim, Jeffrey Middleton of Lauderdale, was kidnapped in the borders in 1528 on his return from Whithorn.³⁶ The large numbers of pilgrims on the roads and the potential for abuse of the system by criminals may have prompted the Scottish regency government in 1516 to reissue the legislation from 1427 protecting pilgrims who came to Whithorn by 'sea or land'.³⁷ What is particularly striking about these late medieval literary and testamentary records is that apart from two references to the shrine of St Duthac in Tain, Whithorn was the only Scottish shrine mentioned by these English observers or deemed worthy of a visit by pilgrims.³⁸

By the late fifteenth century a series of dedications indicate that a local branch of the Ninian cult was well established in England. This English cult was based primarily in the northeast, focused on Ripon and York. Altars dedicated to Ninian could be found in those towns by the end of the fifteenth century, while a series of references to the saint in the wills and post-mortem inquiries of Yorkshire women and men like Margaret Aske, William Eccop and Richard Shepherd noted above, attest to the growing popularity of the cult in that region.³⁹ Further patronage of the cult in the northeast came from John Trollop of Thornley, who left money in 1476 to the light of St Ninian in the parish church of Kelloe, County Durham and Hugh Hastings, head of an important West Riding family, who in 1482, stipulated that a taper of wax should be kept burning by the Friars of Tickhill, near Doncaster in 'honour of seynt Ninian'.⁴⁰ A more interesting bequest was the donation of 'a bone of Saynt Nynyan' to the

35 On four separate occasions in 1504 and 1506 James gave money to individuals or groups of English pilgrims: *TA*, vol. ii, pp. 443, 458 and vol. iii, p. 193. For Tyrwit see *RSS*, vol. i, no. 1291. This man was probably William Tyrwhitt of Kettleby (1458–1522) whose father was sheriff of Lincoln in 1482, who was sheriff himself in 1497 and was described as a 'knight of the king's body' in 1488: *CPR*, 1476–1485, pp. 159, 342, 393; *CPR*, 1494–1509, pp. 122, 198.

36 An English couple were robbed on the way to Whithorn by an Englishman and a Scotsman in 1504: *TA*, vol. ii, p. 458. Middleton was kidnapped by a group of border brigands and held for ransom: *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, (ed.) J.S. Brewer et al. (21 vols, London, 1864–1932), vol. iv, nos 4532, 4829.

37 *RSS*, vol. i, no. 2844. The legislation of 1516 specified that travellers were to be unarmed, with badges as proof that they were genuine pilgrims.

38 Duthac and Tain feature in the chronicles of Worcester and Hollinshead: *William Worcestre Itineraries*, p. 7; Hollinshead, *The Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 8.

39 The altar in the church of St Peter and Wilfred of Ripon was in existence by 1500: *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon* (4 vols, Durham, 1882–1904), vol. iii, pp. 264, 268, 271. The altar in York Minster is first mentioned in 1483: *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, (ed.) J. Raine (Durham, 1859), p. 305; Eric Gee, 'The Topography of Altars, Chantries and Shrines in York Minster', *Antiquaries Journal*, 64 (1984): pp. 337–51 at p. 347.

40 Trollop was a soldier and was buried in the Franciscan friary in Hartlepool. He made bequests to the lights of SS Katherine, Cuthbert, Margaret, Nicholas and Ninian in Kelloe: *Wills and Inventories Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, &c. of the Northern Counties of England, [or rather, mostly of Durham] from the Eleventh Century Downwards*, (ed.) James Raine (4 vols, Durham, 1835–1929), vol. i, pp. 97–9. For Hastings see *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. iii, p. 273.

Grey Friars of York by Margery Salvin in 1491.⁴¹ The popularity of the cult was also reflected in the emergence of the forename Ninian, previously unknown in the region. Seven men with the name were active in Ripon and the local area with two others recorded in York and Knaresborough between the late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries.⁴²

The most high profile English patron of the cult also had strong territorial interests in the northeast. Richard III included Ninian in a series of religious dedications between 1477 and 1485, beginning with a personal grant to fund four studentships at Queen's College, Cambridge, in honour of SS Mary, George, Anthony and Ninian.⁴³ The following year Richard would name a stall at his collegiate church at Middleham in honour of the saint.⁴⁴ In 1479 Richard was granted permission to found a college at Barnard Castle, which he dedicated to Christ and SS Mary, Margaret and Ninian, and the saint was also recognised in a proposed foundation of one hundred priests at York, about which nothing else is known except that they were to sing for 'God, our Lady, Seynt George and Seynt Nynyan'.⁴⁵ Richard's special devotion to Ninian is also clear from the additions made to his personal book of hours. The four additions to the book were made, according to the most recent editor, at the time of his coronation in 1483. These were the inclusion of Richard's date of birth, a common contemporary prayer, a long devotion and a collect of St Ninian.⁴⁶

The conspicuous devotion of Richard III to the saint of Whithorn has received some comment with Hughes suggesting that the interest in the saint showed that the king's Scottish campaigns of the 1480s were 'driven by a degree of moral fervour'.⁴⁷ However, whilst the king may have had a personal connection to Ninian, Richard's patronage of the saint must be placed in the context of his territorial aspirations in the southwest of Scotland.⁴⁸ In January 1483

41 Salvin was a resident of York: Ibid., vol. iv, p. 116.

42 For example Ninian does not feature in the *Database of the People of Northern England 1216–86*, <http://www.pone.ac.uk/>. For Ripon see, *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid*, pp. 12, 278, 301, 326, 344, 348. Ninian Blythman was a tiller from York active in 1529: *Register of the Freemen of the city of York 1272–1558*, (ed.) Francis Collins (2 vols, Durham, 1897–1900), vol. i, p. 250. Ninian Pullayne was a soldier from Scotton near Knaresborough, who died in 1565: *Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond* (Durham, 1853), p. 176.

43 William George Searle, 'The History of the Queens College of St Margaret in the University of Cambridge, 1446–1560', *Publicity of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 8–10 (1867): pp. 88–9.

44 *Documents relating to the Foundation and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Middleham*, (ed.) W. Atthill (London, 1847), p. 8. The other five stalls were named after Our Lady and SS George, Katherine, Cuthbert, Anthony and Barbara.

45 Higgett, 'From Bede to Rabelais', p. 202; Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997), p. 61.

46 Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud, 1990), pp. 1, 39–42.

47 Jonathan Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 36–7.

48 Richard Dobson, 'Richard III and the Church of York', in Ralph A. Griffiths and Jonathan Sherbourne (eds), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages: A Tribute to Charles Ross* (Gloucester, 1980), pp. 130–55, at p. 146; Alexander Grant, 'Richard III and Scotland', in Anthony Pollard (ed.), *The North of England in the Reign of Richard III* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 115–48, at pp. 115–16.

Edward IV (1461–83) made a prospective grant to his brother of all the lands he could conquer across the western border in ‘Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Annandale, Wauchepdale, Clydesdale and the Scottish West March’.⁴⁹ Grant has suggested that this charter represented Richard’s long held aspiration to carve out a principality for himself in south western Scotland.⁵⁰ The importance of Whithorn as the main sacred power centre in this region would have been a key attraction for the future king. The tradition of English ecclesiastical control of Ninian’s diocese would also have provided an attractive precedent and justification for Richard’s attempt to control the region.⁵¹ Galloway was the diocese with the weakest connection to the Scottish national church and, following the controversial creation of the Archbishopric of St Andrews in 1472, Richard and his councillors may have felt the time was ripe for the renewal of the old relationship.⁵² Whilst Richard’s interest in the saint may have initially had a strategic political purpose, in a similar manner to a series of Scottish monarchs in the same period, it is clear that the English king also developed a genuine personal devotion to the saint, as indicated by the additions to his book of hours in 1483.

Can the emergence of a branch of the Ninian cult in the northeast be attributed to the high profile patronage of the saint by Richard? The bulk of recorded English devotion to Ninian came after 1477, when Richard is first recorded as displaying an interest in the saint, and was located in the region of his greatest political influence. The king may have been behind the foundation of the altar at York Minster dedicated to Ninian c.1483, while Richard also seems to have encouraged his supporters in devotion to the saint. Hugh Hastings, who paid for a light in ‘honour of seynt Ninian’ in Tickhill and Thomas Merkenfield, whose son was named after the saint, were retainers of the then Duke of Gloucester and accompanied him on his Scottish campaign in 1482.⁵³ William Tyrwhitt who visited Whithorn in 1506 was also from a family with strong Yorkist connections.⁵⁴ However, although Richard’s devotion to the saint may have encouraged the northern cult, it was not the primary stimulant. English pilgrims had been present at Whithorn in the fourteenth century and were specified within the legislation of 1427, while the shrine seems to have become part of a northern pilgrimage network well before 1477.

John Hughes and Anne Sutton have explained Richard’s interest in the saint by characterising Ninian as the patron of the West March on both sides of

49 Cited in Grant, ‘Richard III and Scotland’, p. 115.

50 Ibid., p. 116.

51 This motivation has been posited by Anne Sutton, who suggested that an association with the saint would add authority to any ‘claims the English may have to regions of Scotland that Ninian Christianised or civilised’: Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III’s Books*, p. 62.

52 I am grateful to Michael Penman for this suggestion.

53 Hughes refers to this connection between devotion to Ninian and Richard and his retainers: Hughes, *Religious Life of Richard III*, pp. 36–7.

54 *CPR, 1476–1485*, pp. 159, 393, 512.

the border.⁵⁵ However, evidence of significant Cumbrian interest in Ninian is limited.⁵⁶ St Cuthbert retained his prominence in the region throughout the later Middle Ages, while more significant cross-border interest may have been sustained for the cult of St Kentigern, which had been widespread in the region prior to the Wars of Independence.⁵⁷ The main focus of the English cult was in the east rather than the west.⁵⁸ Longer term ecclesiastical connections may have played a role in this geographical focus. From the revival of the see of Galloway in the twelfth century until St Andrews became the metropolitan of the Scottish church in 1472, the diocese was officially under the authority of York. In practice the warfare of the fourteenth century had severed the relationship, with Michael (1355–58×59) the last bishop to seek consecration at York in 1355.⁵⁹ However, it had been common for Galloway bishops to supplement their income by serving as part-time assistants in the English diocese, a role carried out by successive office holders from John (1189–1209) to Thomas (d.1324).⁶⁰ The regular presence of these men in York may have contributed to the early establishment of the cult in the region, a local interest further stimulated by the positive reports of pilgrims returning from Whithorn in the fifteenth century and given a final boost by the high profile patronage of Richard III in the 1470s.

A Saint of the North

Although Ninian was identified by one English observer in the early sixteenth century as a distinctly Scottish patron, in general English devotees of the cult appear to have had a different interpretation of the saint.⁶¹ The manner in

55 They both emphasise the west march *facing* Scotland: Hughes, *Religious Life of Richard III*, pp. 36–7; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, p. 41. Grant also stresses the importance of the cult in north-western England: Grant, 'Richard III and Scotland', p. 116.

56 Although Summerson has suggested that people made pilgrimages from Carlisle to Whithorn the only named devotee of the saint with probable Cumbrian connections was Jeffrey Middleton: Summerson, 'Carlisle and the English West March', p. 93. Arnold Forster has tentatively identified only one Ninian dedication in the county: Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints* (3 vols, London, 1899), vol. ii, p. 223.

57 Robert Rose, 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church', in Stuart Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 119–37, at p. 131. There were 15 churches dedicated to St Cuthbert and eight dedicated to St Kentigern in the county: Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, vol. ii, pp. 225–6.

58 The only reference I have so far located to interest in the cult in the northwest is the proxy pilgrimage paid for by Robert Ardern of Stockport: *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories*, vol. ii, pp. 138–41.

59 Michael required a safe conduct to attend his consecration: *CDS*, vol. iii, no. 1584. His successor, Adam of Lanark (1363–78), renounced his allegiance to York: see Richard Oram, 'In Obedience and Reverence': Whithorn and York c.1128–c.1250', *IR*, 42 (1991): pp. 83–101.

60 Gordon Donaldson, 'The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn', *Transactions of the Galloway Naturalist and Antiquarian Society*, 27 (1948–49): pp. 127–55, at pp. 130–31.

61 An early sixteenth-century English ballad refers to Andrew, Ninian and Duthac as the patron saints of the Scots: *The Battle of Flodden Field: A Poem of the Sixteenth Century*, (ed.) H. Weber (Edinburgh, 1868), p. 27.

which they may have viewed Ninian can be seen in a prayer which Richard ordered to be said daily by the four priests at Queen's College, and in the collect within the book of hours belonging to Richard III. The prayer read: 'O God, you who have converted the peoples of *the Britons and Picts* [my italics] by the teaching of St Ninian', identifying the saint as an early apostle of the north, rather than specifically of Scotland.⁶² It is this non-partisan figure with which the English devotees of the saint seem to have engaged. It is clear from the fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints* that those responsible for generating the image of the saint at Whithorn were keen to stress this comprehensive appeal, unsurprisingly given the location of the shrine so close to the Irish Sea zone and English border. In addition to a translation into the Scots vernacular of Aelred of Rievaulx's twelfth-century Latin *Vita Niniani*, the *Legends of the Saints* includes a description of a feast day at Whithorn and five miracle stories from the second part of the Wars of Independence (c.1332–46). Five miracle stories from the same period feature in Abbot Bower's *Scotichronicon* of the 1440s.⁶³ In four of Bower's stories English troops in Scotland who transgressed the patrimonies of SS Columba and Serf were dealt with in a summary manner, in three out of the four instances they all die.⁶⁴ In a further Bower legend, the Scottish defeat at Neville's Cross was attributed to the lack of respect shown by David II (1329–71) to St Cuthbert.⁶⁵ Miracle stories emanating from Durham in this period showed Cuthbert acting in a similarly partisan manner.⁶⁶

While, as John Higgitt has observed, it is clear in the *Legends* that Ninian's sympathies are with the Scots, in comparison to other miracle stories from the Anglo-Scottish wars the body count in the *Legends* is minimal, with the saint intervening on both sides.⁶⁷ In one miracle Ninian actually restored to health an English officer who had vowed to visit Whithorn

62 The prayer is translated in Hughes, *Religious Life of Richard III*, p. 37. The collect is only four lines long and also describes Ninian as the converter of the Britons and the Picts: Lambeth, MS 474, reproduced in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, p. 41.

63 The first miracle was attributed to Serf who helped Scots forces under siege at Lochleven; three others featured Columba protecting Inchcolm and Dollar from English raiding parties: *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, pp. 99, 109, 119–21, 399–403.

64 The troops besieging Lochleven and two groups of English pirates perished at sea or at the hands of Scottish soldiers.

65 *Chron. Bower*, vol. vii, pp. 255–7.

66 See John Bliese, 'Saint Cuthbert and war', *Journal of Medieval History*, 24 (1998): pp. 215–43.

67 Two miracle stories from the *Legends* have been used to suggest that Ninian was acting as a 'heroic national saint': Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', p. 404. In the first miracle Ninian saved Fergus MacDowell, a nobleman with lands in Kirkcudbright and Dumfries who was rewarded in 1357 for his support of the Bruce party after David II's return to Scotland, from an English ambush: *RMS*, vol. i, App. ii, nos 835 and 1007. In the second miracle an unnamed Gallovidian who had been captured by an English raiding party was saved by the saint: *Legends of the Saints*, vol. i, pp. 327–9, 335–42; Higgitt, 'From Bede to Rabelais', p. 194.

at the suggestion of his Scottish captive.⁶⁸ The soldier's initial fears that the saint would not intercede on his behalf, as he was not a Scot, proved groundless.⁶⁹ Differing audiences could take from this story varied images of the saint. Ninian could be perceived as a patriotic figure, protecting Scots from the invading English, as a local patron helping the Gallovidian captive, or as regionally powerful saint, receptive to all genuine supplicants. This inclusive aspect of the saint's reputation is more apparent in a further original miracle from the *Legends*. In a fairly standard version of the hanged-man miracle type, Ninian intervened to save an English prisoner from execution.⁷⁰ The saint's motivation for helping the man was not his innocence, the narrative makes it clear that he was guilty, but that he undertook to fast and visit Whithorn.⁷¹ As with the story of the English soldier, nationality or merit was of no consequence to the saint. The ability of the late medieval Ninian cult to thus embody a sense of Scottishness for some supplicants, whilst remaining a non-partisan figure for others, was central to its success as a cross-border cult.

Conclusion

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Ninian, and his shrine at Whithorn, was a natural focus for the Scottish authorities, as well as a target for religious reformers. The striking engagement with the saint and shrine by the Scottish crown in the 1450s was directly related to the political situation in Galloway and the southwest, where Ninian was the pre-eminent regional patron saint. Ninian's patronal role in the region also prompted sponsorship of the saint by the English monarch Richard III, as he looked to carve out a territorial base for himself in south western Scotland. The continuing engagement with cult and shrine by Scottish monarchs and the full incorporation of Ninian into the top rank of national saints by the Scottish church elite, alongside Andrew, Margaret, Kentigern and Columba, was also a reaction to the popularity of the cult and a recognition that, for some sections of society, Ninian had already come to be identified as a national patron saint.

However, efforts by the Scottish authorities to appropriate the Ninian cult had little impact on its broader popularity in the British Isles. The spread of the cult into northern England is what makes the Ninian cult such a rare and interesting phenomenon in this period. There is little or no evidence of Scottish

68 The English soldier had worms in his feet: *Legends of the Saints*, vol. i, p. 341.

69 Ibid., p. 339.

70 Ibid., pp. 331–5. The hanged-man miracle topos has been explored in relation to the canonisation process surrounding Thomas of Hereford in Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 42–52.

71 He is described as a 'wicked man' in the text: *Legends of the Saints*, vol. i, p. 331. As Bartlett has shown innocence was not a pre-requisite for saintly intervention in this miracle type: Bartlett, *The Hanged Man*, pp. 49–50.

interest in newly canonised English saints like Thomas of Hereford (1320), John of Bridlington (1401) or Osmund of Salisbury (1456), or any of the various unofficial saints who sprang up in the later Middle Ages.⁷² Similarly references to English pilgrimage to St Andrews and Dunfermline tail off after the mid-fourteenth century, as would evidence of the previously vibrant Kentigern cult in Cumbria.⁷³ However, recent work on the late medieval cults of SS George and Thomas of Canterbury has shown that the appeal of those saints to certain groups in Scotland was able to transcend their English associations.⁷⁴ Similarly there is evidence of some continuity in devotion to Cuthbert of Durham north of the border in the later Middle Ages, despite the firm identification of that saint with English military triumphs over the Scots.⁷⁵ Scottish supplicants of Cuthbert were able to engage with that saint as something other than a hammer of the Scots, and the surviving English prayers suggest that Ninian was also open to interpretation. It was the existence of these differing representations of the saint combined with a popular miracle-working shrine and patronage from influential individuals, which allowed the cult of St Ninian to rise above national strife and political hostility. In the end, for late medieval Scots and northern English it was not where a saint was from, but what he could do for you that really mattered.

72 None of these newly canonised saints, or what Swanson describes as 'would be saints' such as Henry VI (1423–71) and Richard Scrope (d.1405), had recorded dedications in Scotland: Robert Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 287–90.

73 Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century* (2 vols, Kendal, 1993), vol. ii, p. 617.

74 Steve Boardman, 'The Cult of St George in Scotland', in Boardman, John R. Davies and Eila Williamson (eds), *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 146–59; Michael A. Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178–c.1404', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006): pp. 346–71.

75 Tom Turpie, 'A Monk from Melrose? St Cuthbert and the Scots in the Later Middle Ages, c.1371–1560', *IR*, 62/1 (2011): pp. 47–69.

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Section III

Representing Female Power and Noble Authority

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8 In the Absence of an Adult Monarch

Ceremonial Representations of Authority by Marie de Guise, 1543–1558

*Lucinda H.S. Dean*¹

When Mary, Queen of Scots, returned from her relatively sheltered Catholic upbringing in the extravagant Renaissance court of the French king Henri II, the ‘welcome’ offered upon her entry into Edinburgh in 1561 featured the burning of an effigy of a Catholic priest, Protestant preachers denouncing the Pope, and the gifting of an English bible and psalm book.² This aptly named ‘ambiguous triumph’ – the first and perhaps only royal entry that reverts from a rhetoric of acclamation to one of rejection – openly and mercilessly attacked Catholicism and laid down the gauntlet of challenge to the returning queen’s royal authority.³ Mary’s short but explosive adult reign included other ceremonial examples of the challenges faced by a quintessentially French Catholic woman in the role of ruling monarch of the newly Reformed Scottish realm.⁴ Yet, this period from 1561 to 1567 made up less than a quarter of her reign, and the challenges to her royal authority began long before she returned to

1 The author would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the AHRC and the Strathmartine Trust. Thanks also to Sarah Carpenter, Michael Penman and the anonymous peer reviewer for their constructive comments on the piece, and to the collection at Blair Castle, Perthshire, for permission to use the image that accompanies this piece.

2 Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. ii, pp. 172–3; John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, (ed.) William Croft Dickinson (2 vols, London and Edinburgh, 1949), vol. ii, pp. 20–21; *Diurnal of Occurents*, pp. 66–8; Lord Herries, *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots and a Portion of the Reign of King James the Sixth*, (ed.) Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh, 1836), pp. 56–8; *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland, A.D. MDLXI–A.D. MDCL*, (ed.) P. Walker (Edinburgh, 1822), pp. 1–8.

3 Alasdair A. MacDonald, ‘Mary Stewart’s Entry to Edinburgh: an Ambiguous Triumph’, *IR*, 42/2 (Autumn 1991): pp. 101–10; Douglas Gray, ‘The Royal Entry in Sixteenth-Century Scotland’, in Sally Mapstone and Juliette Hood (eds), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 26–8; Gordon Kipling, ‘The Deconstruction of the Virgin in the Sixteenth-Century Royal Entry in Scotland’, *European Medieval Drama*, 9 (2005): pp. 127–52, esp. pp. 139–40.

4 Sarah Carpenter, ‘Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots’, *SHR*, 82/2 (October 2003): pp. 194–225; Lucinda Dean, ‘Crowns, Wedding Rings, and Processions: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 2013), esp. pp. 291–304.



Figure 8.1 Anonymous, 'Portrait of James V and Marie de Guise', c.1606, dated by Christie's (The Collection at Blair Castle, Perthshire). See plate section

Scotland in 1561. This essay will analyse ceremonies orchestrated by Mary's mother, Marie de Guise (Figure 8.1), between 1543 and 1560 to examine how such challenges were faced in the absence of an adult monarch.

By the sixteenth century, long minorities and battles over power had become a regular feature of Scottish politics; however, a number of factors made Mary's minority different.⁵ The most striking difference was her physical absence from the realm for over twelve years following the ratification of the Treaty of Haddington in July 1548.⁶ One of the terms of

this treaty determined that Mary would reside in France with the Dauphin François, to whom she was betrothed. This theoretically placed Henri II of France in the position of 'protector' of Scotland, certainly in his own mind, and created a significant barrier against earlier Anglophile policy that would have seen Mary marry the future Edward VI.⁷ Whilst the political factionalism of Scottish royal minorities was often marked by persistent intervention by Anglo-French interests, Mary's minority saw increasingly prominent religious dimensions further polarise these two opposing realms. Furthermore, to state the obvious, Mary was a girl, and the main defender of her royal authority in Scotland during her absence was a woman, Marie de Guise. The sixteenth century was to witness four queen regnants in the British Isles,⁸ and in France the formidable Catherine de Medici ruled on behalf of her young sons following the deaths of Henri II and François II. The fact that there were a number of women in power in this era should not detract from the plethora of challenges their accessions provoked from an overtly male-dominated society. Kingship was discussed in the terms of male authority and reactionary publications, such as Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet*, openly attacked the concept of women in roles of authority.⁹

5 From 1400 six of the seven monarchs crowned in Scotland were minors: James II aged six (1437); James III aged nine (1460); James IV aged 15 (1488); James V aged 13–14 months (1513); Mary aged nine months (1543); James VI aged 16 months (1567). James I succeeded aged 12 (1406), but was not crowned until his return to Scotland following English captivity in 1424, aged 30.

6 RPS, 1548/7/1, Legislation: Treaty of Haddington (7 July 1548, Haddington).

7 For a detailed assessment of Henri's motivations see: Pamela E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career* (East Linton, 2002), pp. 30–60.

8 Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–67); Lady Jane Grey (1553); Mary Tudor (1553–58); Elizabeth (1558–1603).

9 John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558).

Marie de Guise was not the first dowager queen of Scotland to rise to prominence as a major political force during the minority of a Scottish monarch.¹⁰ However, her successes combined with the duration and extent of her power in the absence of her daughter make her position unique. Pamela Ritchie has illuminated that, once her daughter had been successfully removed to the safety of France, all quarters were surprised by Marie's decision to stay and supervise the war effort in Scotland under the governorship of James Hamilton, earl of Arran.¹¹ Long before the infamous Armada speech made by Elizabeth I,¹² the dowager's personal involvement in these efforts was praised extensively by Jean de Beaugué, a French gentleman soldier, who records a number of her rousing speeches to the Scots and offers examples of '*singuliere vertu*' of Marie, dowager of Scotland.¹³ Indeed, Ritchie's monograph on Marie's political career convincingly assesses key political moments, including a detailed exploration of those who accompanied Marie on her extended visit to France in 1550–51 which began with a spectacular ceremonial entry at Rouen on 1 October 1550.¹⁴ Yet, there are a number of important ceremonial occasions which are left underexplored.

This chapter intends to assess how representations of authority were shaped and moulded through Mary's childhood and early adulthood in four prominent ceremonies orchestrated directly or indirectly by Marie de Guise: Mary's coronation in 1543; Marie's return journey from France via the court of Edward VI in 1551; her accession as queen regent of Scotland in 1554; and events in Edinburgh to celebrate Mary's marriage to the Dauphin in July 1558. Amy Blakeway has recently argued that, although the periods of minority rule in sixteenth-century Scotland were often accompanied by complex political situations and financial difficulties, the presumption that the courts of the adult Stewarts 'arose from the ashes of barren minorities' must be challenged.¹⁵ By analysing these ceremonies within the context of their political and religious

10 Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424–1463* (Edinburgh, 2006).

11 Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 63–4. James Hamilton, second earl of Arran, later Duke of Châtelherault, and heir apparent to Mary, Queen of Scots, was appointed governor of the realm in January 1543. For fuller exploration of his role in the realm see: Amy Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2015), *passim*.

12 See Estelle Paraque, Ch. 9.

13 Jean de Beaugué, [gentilhomme François], *L'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse, traitant comme le Royaume fut allailly, & en gra[n]d' partie occupé par les Anglois, & depuis rendu paisible à sa Reyne, & duit en son ancien eliat & diginté* (Paris, 1556, avec privilege du Roy), fols 32v–35v.

14 Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 61–90, 250–71. For further on the Rouen entry: *C'est la deduction du sumptueux order plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dressez . . . par les citoiens de Rouen . . . a la sacrée maïeste du treschristian roy de France, Henry seco[n]d* . . . (Rouen, 1551). Accessible online: British Library, Treasures in Full: Renaissance Festival Books, <http://special-bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0020> [accessed August 2013]; Margaret McGowan, 'Forms and Themes in Henri II's Entry to Rouen', *Renaissance Drama*, 1 (1968): pp. 199–251; *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen, 1550: a facsimile*, (ed.) Margaret M. McGowan (Amsterdam, 1977); Michael Wintroub, 'Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29/2 (1998): pp. 465–94.

15 Blakeway, *Regency*, pp. 127–9.

surroundings alongside a consideration of Scottish ceremonial traditions, this chapter will demonstrate how Marie de Guise used public display and ceremony to rise to the challenges of representing the royal authority of her absent daughter in the complex male-dominated arena into which Mary would soon follow her.

Crowning the Babe, Stirling September 1543

Marie de Guise arrived in Scotland in June 1538 following the tragic death of James V's first wife Madeleine, daughter of the king of France, a year earlier. Despite these circumstances, Marie was welcomed to Scotland with great joy and regal displays that saw her paraded through the realm in a manner that built upon a tradition of elaborate welcomes for foreign royal brides in Scotland.¹⁶ Unlike previous consorts, Marie's coronation was delayed for over eighteen months until she was visibly pregnant with her first son in February 1540.¹⁷ This implies that Marie's authority and legitimacy as queen hinged on her ability to produce children, more so than her predecessors. James V's prominent role in the ceremony with his remodelled regalia further emphasised that the dynasty and its stability were the dominant focus of this consort coronation.¹⁸ Following the sudden deaths of two infant sons (James and Arthur both died in 1541) and her husband by the end of 1542, the future of the dynasty rested with her remaining newborn child. The infant became Marie's central concern, with the active promotion of James V's progeny in her hands.

Mary's birth in December 1542 was overshadowed by the premature deaths of her older brothers and father, as well as by continuing hostilities with England, and her coronation did not occur until nine months later.¹⁹ There were innumerable reasons for such delays, not least of which was Mary's tender age of nine days at her father's death. Her gender was likely a predominant factor, particularly with Arran's ongoing negotiations for a marriage between Mary

16 Lucinda H.S. Dean, 'Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities, c.1449–1590' in R. Mulryne and A.M. Testaverde with I. Aliverti (eds), *The Iconography of Power: Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 267–95, particularly pp. 275–9.

17 In a Scottish context this was unusual, since the advent of the Scottish consort coronation in 1331, the only confirmed gaps between marriage and consort coronation are found when the union occurred prior to the king ascending the throne. For more on the coronation of Marie de Guise see: Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings', pp. 285–90; Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 194–7.

18 On remodelling of the regalia: Andrea Thomas, 'Crown Imperial: Coronation Ritual and Regalia in the Reign of James V', in Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 42–67.

19 Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. ii, p. 15; George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland translated from the Latin of George Buchanan*, (ed.) James Aikman (4 vols, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1827), vol. ii, pp. 333–4; Ralph Sadler, *Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler, Ambassador of King Henry VIII to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1720), pp. 359–65; Leslie, *History*, p. 174; Leslie, *Historie*, vol. ii, p. 269.

and Prince Edward of England.²⁰ In the build up to the coronation, the unease felt by Marie de Guise and her followers in transporting the child amidst these complexities was clear. John Leslie, bishop of Ross, reports that ‘ane greit army’ gathered at Linlithgow in August to convey the dowager and infant queen to Stirling, and a payment of £600 for this was released to James Dog and Patrick Kyncaid.²¹ Marcus Merriman posits that moving Mary to the fortifications of Stirling, and closer to her crown, indicated the waning chances of Arran’s English union and increased the underlying disquiet that would lead to civil war before the year ended.²² Thus, the dowager’s concerns about moving her daughter were well founded.

Little remains extant recording the coronation and what does survive comes with a plethora of personal biases, religious beliefs and political opinion.²³ Of the commentators only Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, would have been involved personally at the centre of court politics in 1543;²⁴ but even he did not attend the coronation, sending Henry Ray, the Berwick pursuivant, in his stead. Sadler comments that the coronation took place ‘with such Solemnity as they do in this Country, which is not very costly’.²⁵ His statement was tellingly derogatory: having been in Scotland for five months attempting to finalise a betrothal between Mary and Prince Edward, he had little reason to wax lyrical about this Catholic coronation. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, on the other hand, records a far merrier occasion marked by great triumph, plays, ‘*phrassis*’,²⁶ banqueting and dancing, with guests including the French ladies of Marie de Guise’s household.²⁷ The *Treasurer’s Accounts*, which came under the jurisdiction of Arran as governor, have no reference to the queen’s coronation.²⁸ However, Guise’s *Expence Extraordinaire* demonstrate the dowager’s involvement in partially funding her daughter’s coronation, with payments for a confectioner, butchers and porters/bearers of food, as well as silver dishes for carrying food.²⁹ D. James Ross has proposed that Robert Carver’s *Pater*

20 For further details on the situation in 1543 see: Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (East Linton, 2000), esp. pp. 112–34.

21 Leslie, *History*, p. 174; NRS, E21/41, Exchequer Records:Accounts of the Treasurer, fol. 28v; *TA*, vol. viii, p. 224.

22 Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, pp. 126–7.

23 These include George Buchanan, who became one of Mary’s most virulent opponents, and John Leslie, bishop of Ross, who remained a fervent supporter of Mary long after her abdication.

24 Gervase Phillips, ‘Sadler, Sir Ralph (1507–1587)’, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24462> [accessed 3 October 2012].

25 Sadler, *Letters and Negotiations*, pp. 365–6.

26 Translation: farces or pageants.

27 Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. ii, p. 15.

28 The governor does provide the queen with new seals in April 1543, but the cost of increasing her personal bodyguards is the only mention of the queen between August and October 1543: NRS, E21/40, fol. 27r; *Ibid.*, E21/41, fols 28r–34v; *TA*, vol. viii, pp. 184, 223–9.

29 NRS, E33/3/4, *Dépences De La Maison Royale, Mary of Guise-Lorraine: Accounts (extraordinary)*, Feb. 1542/3–Jan. 1543/4, fols 26–30.

Creator omnium Mass (1543), a composition 'reserved for solemnities of the highest order', may have featured in the coronation ceremony. Additionally, he raises the link between Mary's coronation on 9 September and the religious feast day for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September).³⁰ Marie and other organisers of the ceremony would undoubtedly have recognised the increased potency of the crowning of this virgin queen named Mary on the first Sunday in the octave of this popular Marian feast. In choosing such a date, there was a deliberate underlining of continuing Scottish royal allegiance to Rome during the complex political and religious upheavals in England circling Henry VIII's break from the Roman Catholic Church. With the layering of French and Catholic statements over the event, it is unsurprising that Sadler chose not to elaborate.

No conclusive list of who was present at the coronation survives. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms by 1542/3, had been prominent in the orchestration of James V's funeral.³¹ As chief herald, he likely acted as master of ceremonies at the coronation and played a central role in the public acclamation of the new queen, including the traditional recitation of the genealogy of the Scottish monarchy.³² A member of Henry VIII's Council of the North, William Parr (later earl of Essex and marquis of Northampton), recorded that Arran carried the crown, Lennox the sceptre and Argyll the sword in the ceremony, placing these earls in closest proximity to the symbols of the monarchy.³³ The involvement of high born nobles carrying the regalia in the ceremony was increasingly common. As next in line for the throne, these men were the equivalent of French Princes of the Blood who rose in ceremonial prominence in the early sixteenth century, particularly in the court of François I (1515–47) with which Marie de Guise was familiar.³⁴ Arran, as the governor and second person of the realm, also likely acted by proxy to recite the oaths in the ceremony.³⁵ The dowager's actual role in the church-bound ceremony is not entirely clear. She may have carried her daughter; however, it is pertinent to mention that this

30 D. James Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 40–44.

31 Entry regarding the Lyon Herald's involvement in paying people or receiving goods for the funeral, and for dule wear purchased for him: NRS, E21/40, fols 4v, 6v; *TA*, vol. viii, pp. 142–3.

32 On the development of the role of the herald in Scottish coronations: Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings', ch. 2.

33 'Parr to Suffolk, 13 Sept 1543', *The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century*, (ed.) J. Bain (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1890–92), vol. ii, no. 30.

34 On the Princes of the Blood: Richard A. Jackson, *Vive Le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill and London, 1984), pp. 155–67. On noblesse de robe and the changing face of Scottish nobility: Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442–1603* (Edinburgh, 1985) and Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2004 edn), esp. pp. 1–24, 271–6.

35 In preparation for his involvement in coronation, Archbishop Beaton insisted upon Arran taking the sacrament for his part in consenting to the sacking of a friary in Dundee: *Hamilton Papers*, vol. ii, no. 30.

would have been unlikely if she were carrying her sceptre.³⁶ Considering the male-dominated arena in which the ceremony was performed, with Arran playing a major role, it is highly probable that Marie would have worn her full consort coronation regalia to emphasise her own royal status and the proxy power she wielded as mother of the queen. In many ways this ceremony is something of an enigma. Despite very real restrictions (such as the purse strings being in the hands of the governor), Marie's involvement was crucial in creating this ceremony marking the full recognition of Mary's authority as heir to the throne.

A Visit to London, 1551

Bishop Leslie states that Marie de Guise was the 'author of the journey' that took her from France via Portsmouth and London before travelling by land to Scotland in 1551.³⁷ Rosalind Marshall and Ritchie concur that Marie's choice to visit Edward VI in London was a shrewd political move in the enhancement of her public persona upon the European stage.³⁸ There is still much about Marie's visit, the manner in which she was received, and her onward journey, which remains underexplored in terms of broader context and comparisons. For example, neither scholar addresses the fact that this was a Catholic queen entering the capital city of a young king who aligned himself with Protestant ideology, despite increasingly heated confrontations between Edward and his sister Mary over her refusal to refute Catholicism;³⁹ nor that the trip coincided with Edward's increasing desires for an active role in the government and ongoing trials of treason amongst the highest echelons of Edward's courtiers.⁴⁰ These trials saw the long-term quasi-royal leader of his Council of Regency – Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset – and others accused of treason by John Dudley, earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland.⁴¹ Furthermore, whilst Ritchie comments on French interest in Marie's progress rooted in their desire to avoid English involvement in the Habsburg-Valois wars, the fact that only months earlier Edward had sent ambassadors to France to make one final attempt for Mary's hand, and was offered a match with Henri II's daughter Elizabeth instead, is not raised.⁴² It can be argued that Marie's arrival in England shortly after the sealing of an uneasy peace between England and

36 'Ane Inventur of the kingis graces abilyementis beand in his graces wardrop in Edinburgh givinup be Johne Tennand the xxviii day of November in the yeir of god Jm vc fourty twa yeiris', in *A collection of inventories and other records of the royal wardrobe and jewelhouse; and of artillery and munitions in some of the royal castles MCCCCXXXVIII–MDCVI*, (ed.) Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh, 1815), p. 76.

37 Leslie, *Historie*, vol. ii, p. 339.

38 Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London, 1977), pp. 192–5; Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 90–91.

39 Chris Skidmore, *Edward VI: The Lost King of England* (London, 2007), pp. 179–88, 205–7.

40 Wilbur K. Jordan notes a significant transition in the young king's chronicle in 1550 that emphasises this desire: *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, (ed.) W.K. Jordan (London, 1966), pp. xii–xiii.

41 Skidmore, *Edward VI*, pp. 189–226.

42 Ibid., pp. 183–204; Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, p. 90.

Scotland was more than an attempt to boost her European profile.⁴³ It was designed to rebuild bridges with the Protestant English monarch and, in so doing, promote the potential stability that she offered as leader of the Scottish realm.

Marie's arrival prompted a flurry of activity. The king sent out directions determining the formal manner in which she and her entourage would be escorted and entertained along the route from Portsmouth to Hampton Court Palace.⁴⁴ The princesses Mary and Elizabeth were summoned to London, along with an array of noblemen and women.⁴⁵ William Parr, marquis of Northampton and uncle of the king, and his wife headed the welcoming entourage at Hampton Court where Marie was lodged in the queen's state apartments, which Edward notes were hung with arras and 'very finely dressed'.⁴⁶ Her arrival into London was made by a boat along the Thames accompanied by a flotilla of barges, in the manner commonly used for the arrival of queen consorts in London.⁴⁷ At St Paul's Wharfe another prestigious welcoming committee met Marie and escorted her to the Bishop's Palace, where Charles Wriothesley recorded that a 'propine' (gift of friendship) collected under royal orders by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London – including provisions of wax, fuel, wine, torches and victuals, such as veal and swans – was presented to Marie by the Lord Chamberlain.⁴⁸

The public procession that took Marie through London from the Bishop's Palace to visit the king at Whitehall Palace near Westminster on 4 November would have been reminiscent of the processional route of coronation of earlier English queen consorts. These journeys began at the Tower and ended at the Abbey, so Marie's truncated route via Cheapside, Fleet Street and Charing Cross from St Paul's cathedral would have been familiar to observers.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the train of nobility and high society provided for Marie was dominated by women and similarly reflected that of a queen consort.⁵⁰ The thoroughly stage-managed encounter between Edward and Marie at Whitehall has been described in some detail by Marshall.⁵¹ However,

43 The Treaty of Norham of 10 June was ratified by Mary in August 1551: *Foedera*, vol. vi, part ii, pp. 203–6, 210–11.

44 *CSP Foreign Edward*, pp. 190–91; *Chronicle and Political Papers*, pp. 89–91.

45 There were darker undertones to the royal orders in some cases, such as the earl of Arundel, whose orders to attend Marie in London led to his capture and imprisonment amongst those accused of treason: *Ibid.*, pp. 92–3; Skidmore, *Edward VI*, p. 210.

46 *APC England*, vol. iii, p. 397; *Chronicle and Political Papers*, pp. 91–2.

47 Elizabeth of York, Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn all arrived from Greenwich via the river.

48 BL, Harley MS 290, Miscellaneous Tracts, fol. 6r; *CSP Foreign Edward*, pp. 190–91; Charles Wriothesley (Windsor Herald from 1534), *A Chronicle of England during the Reign of the Tudors from 1485 to 1559*, (ed.) William Douglas Hamilton (2 vols, Westminster, 1875–77), vol. ii, pp. 59–60.

49 For example: 'The Coronation of Lady Elizabeth, King Henry VII's wife in the third year of his reign' in *Johannis Lelandi antiquarii De rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, (ed.) by Thomas Hearne (6 vols, London, 1774), vol. iv, pp. 220–22.

50 BL, Harley MS 290, fol. 6r; *Chronicle and Political Papers*, pp. 93–4.

51 Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 193–5.

it important to note the detail with which Edward recorded the encounter (albeit focused on superficial details rather than the substance of conversation) and the dowager's positioning on his left hand side beneath his cloth of state.⁵² This arrangement visually emphasised Marie's status as a person of importance, and firmly linked her to the status of queen consort. Marie's departure from London and journey north was similarly contrived to treat her with the upmost honour and followed another familiar route, passing poignant Tudor landmarks. For example, her procession out of London – accompanied by the duke of Northumberland, the earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, two to three hundred men arrayed in velvet with feathers in their hats, men-at-arms and a host of ladies – took her through Cheapside and Cornhill to Shoreditch.⁵³ This was the same route taken by the victorious newly-crowned Henry VII on his Northern Progress in 1486, while Shoreditch church had been the site where the city of London met their new Tudor monarch after Bosworth in 1485.⁵⁴ Moreover, the provision of an escort of ten to 20 elite figures from each locality for Marie through the 17-stage journey was reminiscent of the progress of Margaret Tudor to Scotland for her marriage to James IV in 1503.⁵⁵

This final comparison was loaded with underlying meaning, as the journey of Margaret Tudor to Scotland was the culmination of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between England and Scotland leading to the union which established Mary's claim to the English throne. No treaty or marriage underpinned Marie's relationship with the English crown. Nevertheless, the imprisonment and trial of the duke of Somerset, the prominent English protagonist of the 'Rough Wooings' which had devastated Anglo-Scottish relations during the 1540s, meant that Marie's presence so soon after the Treaty of Norham heralded the possibility of more amicable relations. Therefore, while the Spanish ambassador in London reported the grumblings of those who believed Marie's reception was solely due to her position as a favourite of the French king, her treatment could equally suggest a solid understanding of her potential in the governing of Edward's northern neighbours.⁵⁶ Marie did not have control over her reception from Edward and, as Mary's mother and her representative, the emphasis upon her as a consort rather than ruler is unsurprising. Her choice to divert her journey did dictate a return progress that was visually comparable to that of her predecessor as queen consort of Scotland, and steeped in evocative implications about the status of both herself and her daughter.

52 *Chronicle and Political Papers*, p. 94; Wriothesley, *Chronicle of England*, vol. ii, pp. 60–61.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2; *Chronicle and Political Papers*, p. 95.

54 Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 8–10, 21.

55 Marie's progress: *Chronicle and Political Papers*, p. 95; BL, Harley MS 290, fol. 7r; *APC England*, pp. 400–407. For Margaret's journey (1503): John Young's account in *Johannis Lelandi Collectanea*, vol. iv, pp. 265–79.

56 'Advices sent by Jehan Scheyfve (London? Nov. 16 1551)' in *CSP England and Spain*, vol. x, p. 392.

A great host of barons from East and Mid-Lothian localities was orchestrated to meet the queen dowager at Berwick-upon-Tweed, whilst on 21 November proclamations were made at the towns of Jedburgh, Selkirk, Duns, Peebles, Lauder, Haddington, Dunbar and North Berwick requesting that the regional lords and ladies prepared for the queen's arrival at Our Lady Kirk of Steill, near Norham.⁵⁷ Messengers were ordered to locate adequate transport for the queen's servants and baggage, and shot was purchased for Edinburgh Castle so the cannons could be fired to celebrate the 'quenis returnyng fur[th]t of France'.⁵⁸ These preparations for the dowager's return are suggestive of a royal welcome and indicate that the minority leaders, with Arran at the helm, were equally aware of the increasing prominence of Marie de Guise, revealing an attempt to match the English king's attention to detail in welcoming her home.⁵⁹ The process of transferring power from James Hamilton, earl of Arran and duke of Châtellherault, to Marie de Guise was slow and considered, one sweetened by 'material persuasions' and titles including his French duchy transferred following the Treaty of Haddington in 1548, which Blakeway argues saw an active partnership between Guise and Châtellherault.⁶⁰ However, Marie's return via London was certainly designed to mark out her significance and agency in the rule of Scotland.

Crowning the Regent, 1554

Before moving on to the ceremony of 1554, the term 'Regent' in the Scottish context deserves further attention. This title was not one commonly found in Scotland prior to the 1550s, despite the frequency of long minorities, and it could be argued that it was formally introduced specifically for Marie de Guise. Minority leaders of the earlier centuries are found recorded either as 'lieutenant' or 'governor', with 'governor' first appearing for Robert, duke of Albany, during the absence of James I between 1406 and 1424.⁶¹ The title 'regent' has often been used for both John Stewart, duke of Albany, and James Hamilton, earl of Arran and duke of Châtellherault, heirs presumptive to James V and Mary respectively.⁶² In the case of both men, their proximity to the succession of very young monarchs and their subsequent role as the

57 NRS, E21/44, fols 32v–33r; *TA*, vol. x, pp. 33–4.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 35; NRS, E21/44, fols 32v, 34r.

59 It is an interesting aside that the governor also laid out expenses for his daughter Lady Anne 'at hir putting to the Queen', presumably as a lady-in-waiting, upon the return of Marie: *Ibid.*, pp. 37–9, 42.

60 Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, p. 25; Blakeway, *Regency*, pp. 199–202.

61 *RPS*, A1406/1 (Perth, General Council, June? 1406); *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398–1407*, (ed.) W. Croft Dickinson (Edinburgh, 1957), p. 220. This title of 'governor' was not used during the subsequent minority of James II, when the title of 'Lieutenant General' was reinstated.

62 Ritchie refers to Regent Arran on a number of occasions: see *Mary of Guise*, p. 22; and W.K. Emond does the same with Albany: see 'The Minority of King James V, 1513–1528' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1988).

central adult male figure in the representation of royal authority could perhaps excuse such a slip, particularly so when later sixteenth-century writers, such as George Buchanan, title them thus.⁶³ Moreover, each actively sought to demonstrate his own authority in the grey area of minority governing. For example, Albany wore a ducal coronet in his first Parliament after he had arrived in the realm in 1515 to be heralded by an extravagant welcoming committee.⁶⁴ Arran also stated his place immediately in his active and central ceremonial role in James V's funeral, alongside his family and adherents clothed with money from the royal coffers.⁶⁵ However, official parliamentary records very rarely use the title of 'regent' for either man.⁶⁶ In fact, Marie de Guise is listed as regent alongside Arran as 'Governor' in 1545 and 1546.⁶⁷ Once the public exchange of power had taken place in 1554, Marie's title changes to 'the queen's grace, dowager and regent'.⁶⁸ With the young queen Mary pronounced to be ruling in her own right in December 1553 but still absent in France, an absence that her marriage to the Dauphin had the real potential to make permanent, Marie de Guise was no ordinary minority ruler.⁶⁹ There is an open debate as to whether Marie's position as regent for a near adult, but absent, monarch was one carrying more or less political power than her predecessors' in acting for child monarchs;⁷⁰ thus, the ceremonial event which took place to celebrate the formal transferral of power to Marie in 1554 should be assessed with such complexities in mind.

The ceremony on 12 April 1554 was stage-managed to clearly emphasise the removal of power from Châtelherault. The governor rode from Holyrood Palace to the Tolbooth accompanied by lords and heralds, with the royal honours carried before him, in a public 'riding of Parliament' ceremony.⁷¹ He departed, as Buchanan records, 'reduced to a private station' after being discharged from office and was essentially left to blur into the crowds.⁷² What form the transferral of power to Marie de Guise took within this public arena after this is a

63 For example see: Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 268, 288–9.

64 Blakeway, *Regency*, pp. 58, 136; Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings', pp. 187–8.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 90–91.

66 Only reference found to this title being used for Albany is in a letter to Henry VIII, *RPS*, A1516/7/1.

67 For example: *RPS*, A1545/6/1, Sederunt (26 June 1545, Stirling). Peter G.B. McNeill states that those individuals who were heir presumptive were titled 'governor' not 'regent': 'The Scottish Regency', *Juridical Review*, 12 (1967), pp. 127–48, at p. 129.

68 For example: *RPS*, A1555/6/2, concerning the liberty of the Holy Kirk (20 June 1555, Edinburgh).

69 Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, p. 93.

70 Blakeway has recently challenged Ritchie's long-standing statement that Marie had more political and regal significance: *Regency*, p. 23; Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, p. 87.

71 Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. ii, pp. 114–16; *RPS*, A1554/4/1, 'Legislation: discharge of James Hamilton, duke of Châtelherault as governor of Scotland' (Edinburgh, Parliament, 12 April 1554). For more on the riding of Parliament: Alastair J. Mann, 'The Scottish Parliaments: the Role of Ritual and Procession in pre-1707 Parliament and the New Parliament of 1999', in E. Crewe and M.G. Müller (eds), *Rituals in Parliaments, Political, Anthropological and Historical Perspectives on Europe and the United States* (Frankfurt et al., 2006), pp. 135–58, esp. pp. 140–49.

72 Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 385.

matter of contention and will likely remain that way. Blakeway challenges previous suggestions that Marie underwent some form of coronation.⁷³ The most trustworthy source recording the occasion and a transferral of the crown is the copied letter book of the French ambassador in London, Noailles:

... *ladicte Dame investee* ^[b] *Jeudy dernier 12^e de ce mois ... au grand contentement de tout le peuple ...*

^[b] *Elle receut de Doisel l'Epee le sceptre & la Còuronne ...*

... the said Lady was invested ^[b] on Thursday 12th day of this month ... to the great contentment of the all the people.

^[b] She received from D'Oysel the sword the sceptre and the crown ...⁷⁴

As with Marie's title of regent, a ceremonial display in which the dowager wore the monarchical regalia had no past precedent in Scottish ceremony (that we know of) and would have been a truly significant moment. Unfortunately, as Blakeway has also observed, the information in D'Oysel's letter to Noailles regarding the honours is in an additional later hand and only indicates the receipt of the honours rather than an investiture.⁷⁵

The other 'witnesses' of the event are also questionable. Those contemporaries who emphasise that Marie was crowned include the exiled Protestant reformist John Knox, who likened the crowning of the French regent to putting 'a saddle on the back of an unruly cow', and Sir Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, whose talent for fanciful invention is well-known.⁷⁶ However, Pitscottie is at his most reliable during the sixteenth century, and Knox's disgust seems to further quantify the honour offered to her, albeit that this was certainly not his intention. Blakeway's argument that a coronation was made unnecessary in 1554 by Marie's consort coronation as queen in 1540 is a reasonable one. Yet, there was a need for reaffirming a different form of power in the absence of the crowned queen, perhaps on a permanent basis. The symbolism of Marie de Guise enthroned and crowned in Parliament taking an oath to rule on behalf of her daughter would have been a powerful representation of authority: one designed to make a comprehensive statement regarding the complex quasi-regal status vested in the 'regent' Marie de Guise. If, as Blakeway argues, Marie's real power was indeed less than those who ruled for minor monarchs before her the need to counter any decrease of real power in an overtly regal display was enhanced rather than diminished. To deny the possibility that such a theatrical visual statement was attempted because it had no precedent, particularly considering Henri II's ambitions and Marie de Guise's determination, overlooks the unique circumstances of 1554.

73 Marshall, *Mary of Guise*, p. 198; Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, p. 94; Blakeway, *Regency*, pp. 59–61.

74 AÉ, Cor. Pol. Angleterre, vol. xii, doc. 379, D'Oysel to de Noailles, 15 April 1554, f. 202r.

75 Blakeway, *Regency*, pp. 60–61.

76 Knox, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 116; Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. ii, pp. 114–16.

Marrying the Dauphin: Paris and Edinburgh, 1558

Official records show that Marie de Guise's movements around the realm during her regency employed tried and tested Stewart models of a domestic policy focused on justice and displays of royal power through royal presence in the localities. Throughout, her status was emphasised by the liveried officials, such as heralds and trumpeters, who are frequently found accompanying her.⁷⁷ From the outset of her official regency, she can be found encouraging and patronising the culture of performance through a range of dramatic activities in the capital, including a Corpus Christi performance in the Queen's lodgings on 24 May 1554, a play performed at Edinburgh's Tron (market weigh-beam) in June and a revised version of Sir David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* performed on the 'playfeild' or Greenside in Edinburgh on 12 August.⁷⁸ Douglas Hamer suggests that the 'outburst of dramatic activity in Edinburgh [was], undoubtedly inspired, if not commanded, by herself'.⁷⁹ More intriguing are the range of dramas she encouraged, from traditional Catholic performances to the most innovative and actively anti-clerical play of the day. Greg Walker commented in a comparison between the 1540 *Interlude* and the 1552–54 redraft of Lindsay's *Satyre* that Marie was 'perceived to be, like James V [for whom the *Interlude* had originally been written], open to persuasion'.⁸⁰ By encouraging and attending the performance of an open air public performance of a play that actively sought to negotiate religious, social and political reform in the first few months of her regency, while the Corpus Christi play appears to have been held in the relative privacy of her lodgings, Marie made a calculated decision to quell fears about her French and Catholic allegiances by appearing publicly to be open to persuasion and advice.

Her daughter Mary was, of course, at the core of Marie's projections of royal authority and the long-awaited marriage of Mary and François took place on 24 April 1558.⁸¹ The lavish French wedding ceremony started with a procession through Paris to Notre Dame and ended with sumptuous feasting and display in the royal palace, where entertainments included seven planets, large 'mechanical' horses and unicorns, and ships with silver sails that appeared to

77 *TA*, vol. x, pp. 230–31, 235, 241, 281, 285–8, 291–2, 312–19, 344; *RMS*, vol. iv, nos 947, 949–50 (1554), 1001 (1555), 1089–1101 (June–Sept 1556), 1103–11 (Oct 1556). These records reveal that the queen toured the south in 1554 and 1555; then the north throughout the summer and autumn of 1556. See also Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 145–67, 245–9.

78 Anna J. Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927), pp. 180–83; David Lindsay, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay*, (ed.) Douglas Hamer (4 vols, Edinburgh, 1930–36), vol. iv, pp. 139–43, 150–51.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

80 Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 117–62, at p. 153.

81 *RPS*, 1558/11/6–7, Procedure: discharge of commissions concerning treaty of marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin François Valois (Edinburgh, Parliament, 29 November 1558); Leslie, *Historie*, vol. ii, p. 378.

rock as if on the water.⁸² Yet, the most intriguing event as far as assessing Marie's use of ceremonial is concerned was the event held in Edinburgh in July 1558.⁸³

As with many a royal entry before and after it, the ceremonies that took place on 3 July 1558 were largely funded by the towns in which they took place. Unlike Mary's own entry in 1561, when there was a significant absence of royal involvement, the driving force behind these ceremonies was Marie de Guise. A torrent of messages from the regent demanded that processions were prepared and bonfires lit in honour of her daughter's wedding in twenty-four different burghs across the realm.⁸⁴ The ceremony at Edinburgh is certainly the best recorded, but extant evidence confirms that other burghs responded to the queen's request. In Aberdeen John Chalmer was put in charge of the play to conform to the 'sovereign ladyis lettre' and in Ayr a payment for wine was recorded 'at ye tryumphe of ye quenis marriage'.⁸⁵ The ceremonial in Edinburgh revolved around the 'solemnization of ye mariage of o[u]r Souveraine Ladie to be counterfute in Edinburgh' – potentially a full recreation of the wedding ceremony itself – for which Marie de Guise personally supplied velvet, satin and 'taffety' [taffeta]. The burgh provided decorated scaffolds and a painted cart to carry players, including two friars, cupid and seven planets in a number of colours, for whom clothing was purchased.⁸⁶ In addition to players, six dancers were provided with red and white costumes adorned with a total of 372 bells, perhaps for performing something akin to Morris dancing that was combined with sword dancing.⁸⁷ Moreover, the purchases of 'canves, bruntstane, salt peter, lumbard paper, to the fyre balls' and four men being paid for 'inputting

82 *Ceremonial at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with the Dauphin of France* (Reprint of original in French, Paris, 1558), (ed.) W. Bentham (London, 1818); *The Marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Francois the Dauphin of France, 1558*, (ed.) Bernerd Clarke Weber (Greenock, 1969); 'Cérémonies de Mariage de Monseigneur le Dauphin avec la Roynie d'Ecosse dans l'église Notre-Dame de Paris' (from the Archives du Royaume de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Paris, Vol. VI) in *Papiers d'état, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIème siècle*, (ed.) Alexandre Teulet, (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1852–60), vol. i, pp. 292–303; 'A Scottish Fragment', in Douglas Hamer, 'The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin: A Scottish Printed Fragment', *Library* (March 1932): pp. 425–8.

83 For a comparative discussion of Paris and Edinburgh see: Sarah Carpenter and Graham Runnalls, 'The Entertainments at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the French Dauphin François, 1558: Paris and Edinburgh', *Medieval English Theatre*, 22 (2000): pp. 145–61.

84 Messages were sent to Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Cupar, St Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow, Dumbarton, Irvine, Ayr, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Dumfries, Montrose, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn and Inverness: NRS, E21/51, fols 51r–v; *TA*, vol. x, pp. 365–6; Carpenter and Runnalls, 'Entertainments at the Marriage', p. 154.

85 *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398–1625*, (ed.) John Stuart (2 vols, Aberdeen: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1844–48), vol. i, pp. 307–8; Mill, *Medieval Plays*, p. 167.

86 NRS, E21/51, fol. 47v; *TA*, vol. x, p. 360; *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts: Vol. 2, Dean of the Guild Accounts, 1552–1567*, (ed.) R. Adam (Edinburgh, 1899), p. 87; Carpenter and Runnalls, 'Entertainments at the Marriage', pp. 153–6.

87 ECA, Bailies and Treasurer's Accounts (Edinburgh Town Council), 1552–67, fols 259–63; *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts, Vol. 1: Bailies Accounts and Treasurer's Accounts, 1544–1587*, (ed.) R. Adam (Edinburgh, 1899), pp. 269–74; Carpenter and Runnalls, 'Entertainments at the Marriage', pp. 151–7. Mill

of xix pece of artailzerie within the flesche market eftir thai wer schot in the tyme of nycht', suggest that small pyrotechnics and artillery were used to bring the event to a triumphant and spectacular conclusion.⁸⁸

The expenses indicate a relatively small scheme of entertainments; however, this does not account for any re-use of old props and costumes from Marie's own entries in 1538 (or other burgh events), and it seems likely that such items were recycled.⁸⁹ Whilst Carpenter's proposition that elements of this ceremony were perhaps modelled on the entertainments in Paris seems sound,⁹⁰ the relationship between these performances and previous royal entries in Scotland, particularly Marie de Guise's own arrival and coronation some twenty years earlier, has been overlooked. For example, beyond the re-use of props, the events of 1558 took place during the octave of the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, which presents a clear comparison between the young queen and her namesake, the Virgin, as had occurred at her mother's coronation in 1540.⁹¹ The choice of date was also a significantly Catholic statement for Marie to have made in the face of increasing Protestant rumblings in Scotland; growing religious divisions in Scotland were brought more vividly to the surface with the formal creation of the Lords of the Congregation, who petitioned the regent for rights to practice the Protestant religion more vociferously from 1557–58 onwards.⁹² The dowager, who had formerly taken an accommodating line, was seen to make a conscious decision to demonstrate her support of the continuation of Catholic traditions in a public forum by leading the annual St Giles feast relic procession in Edinburgh on 1 September that same year. The use of an image of a saint by the Catholic clergy in their elaborate garb led to an open attack upon these symbols of Catholicism by the Protestant brethren, as Knox records; although interestingly this only occurred once the dowager (the symbol of royalty) had left the procession to dine in the house of a burges.⁹³

The ceremony in July was designed to celebrate Mary's marriage to the Catholic house of Valois. However, despite the date choice and the costumes for two friars which were prominent in the preparations, the surviving records suggest that, with due concern for undesired tensions being forcefully brought to the surface, Marie kept the religiosity of the occasion to minimal subtleties

notes that in 1590 the sword dancers who performed for Queen Anne were also supplied with bells; *Medieval Plays*, pp. 11–12, 183–7;

88 ECA, Bailies and Treasurer's, fols 260, 262; *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts, Vol. I*, pp. 270, 273; Mill, *Medieval Plays*, pp. 184–6.

89 In 1590 one of the globes utilised in Anne's entry was brought from Dundee (a city that welcomed Marie de Guise in 1538) and mended: NRS, Treasurer's Accounts, 1 May 1588–1 November 1590, E21/67, fol. 202r. Also see Dean, 'Enter the Alien', pp. 267–95.

90 Carpenter and Runnalls, 'Entertainments at the Marriage', p. 152.

91 Marie's coronation, on Sunday 8 February 1540 fell within the Octave of the Purification feast of the Virgin on 2 February.

92 Herries, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 345.

93 Knox, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, pp. 127–8.

and focused instead upon the royal and bountiful nature of the union. There are costs recorded for wine 'till be run upone the Croce' and Johnne Weir making 'pypis to the out passage of the wyne' indicating that wine flowed from the fountain at the market cross. Such displays, along with pageants featuring Bacchus, were often found in royal entry ceremonies and were potent images for weddings that alluded to the anticipated bounty and plenty of a marital union. As Carpenter has noted, one of the playwrights paid by the burgh was William Lauder, whose known work included 'a poem of advice to rulers';⁹⁴ implying that another aim of the plays was to advise upon good rulership, as was the tradition, despite the absence of the royal couple to whom such comments were directed. Although it cannot be confirmed, it is possible that the regent acted as the proxy recipient of the public acclamations and advice to further emphasise her role as a conduit between the Scottish people and their monarch.

These themes appear all the more likely to have formed the core of the Edinburgh ceremonies when taking into account letters which arrived from Mary requesting the crown matrimonial of Scotland and other regalia for a consort coronation in France around the same time as the celebrations in Edinburgh.⁹⁵ Rather than ruffle the feathers with overtly Catholic sentiments at a time when Scotland's independent sovereignty was perceived as threatened, Marie needed to create an event that portrayed the royal couple taking advice and guidance from their people in a recognisable manner to enhance the public image of the long absent queen and her French husband. The attack upon the St Giles procession in September after the post-wedding celebrations in Edinburgh in July highlights how close to the surface the religious tensions in Scotland lay in the latter years of Marie's regency. The lack of any explosive reaction in July, further supports the argument that Marie went out of her way to focus this ceremonial display on royal power and the promise of new hope that such a union could bring.

Conclusion

Mother and daughter barely shared more than seven or eight years in each other's company and, whilst correspondence between them was frequent, it is uncertain how much Marie was able to influence her daughter or what Mary knew of her mother's ceremonial efforts to portray her royal authority in Scotland.⁹⁶ There are points of comparison: both were women in a world of powerful men and both faced the growing religious divide in Scotland marked out by the public criticism of Catholicism. Overall, the fundamental challenges

94 William Lauder was one of two playwrights involved, the other recorded by name was William Adamsoun; ECA, Bailies and Treasurer's, fol. 259; *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts, Vol. I*, p. 269; Mill, *Medieval Plays*, p. 183; Carpenter and Runnalls, 'Entertainments at the Marriage', pp. 153–4.

95 Leslie, *Historie*, vol. ii, pp. 391–5. Leslie's account includes a transcription of the letter sent by Mary.

96 For an example see Mary's letter congratulating her mother on accession to regency, c.1554: NRS, GD432/2/28.

that faced Marie de Guise in representing royal authority were not shared with her daughter: the absence of the queen herself and the fact that Marie was not a monarch. Marie not only accepted these challenges but, throughout all these ceremonial events, was capable of impacting how the crown was perceived in a manner that focused attention on her daughter and her dynastic rights. She privately funded the entertainments at her daughter's coronation to ensure that the event was suitably grand to honour the young queen, possibly manufactured the first crowning of a Scottish regent with the royal honours of Scotland in 1554 to emphasise the unique nature of her regency, and motivated an increasingly reluctant and sceptical Scottish public into celebrating the French marriage of their reigning monarch in 1558. Moreover, her use of the culture of performance and ceremonial provides examples of calculated attempts to still local fears about her allegiances and reassert confidence at times when Scottish sovereignty was threatened. The ceremonies of 1551 appear to have been engineered to dispel fears of French control by initiating a reopening of stable relations with the Protestant English monarchy, while the use of performances such as the *Satyre* (1554) and the wedding entertainments (1558) demonstrate an understanding of the importance of presenting a ruler willing to publicly accept advice from her people. These ceremonies illuminate Marie's capabilities at managing public events to secure and enhance the image of crown authority, including a determined emphasis upon Marie herself as a reliable conduit to the absent queen and proxy image of monarchical authority.

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9 The Representations and Ambiguities of the Warlike Female Kingship of Elizabeth I of England

*Estelle Paranque*¹

During the sixteenth century, asserting authority was a delicate issue for queens due to misogynistic assumptions regarding the inabilities of women rulers. Anne McLaren argues that queens frequently had to invent their authority through representations imbued with warrior values if they wanted to be respected as the equals of kings.² Elena Woodacre explains that for a queen ‘many of the roles of a sovereign were perfectly feasible for her to perform including meting out justice, promoting peace and the welfare of her subjects. However it was considered inappropriate for a woman to be directly involved in warfare’.³ This was the situation faced by Elizabeth I of England who, by remaining single, ultimately played the role of both king and queen of England.⁴ Therefore, her duties were double. On one hand, she had to appear feminine and caring – a facet of her image explored by Christine Coch and Helen Hackett – but on the other, she was expected to assert her authority like any other male monarch in Europe.⁵ It has been acknowledged that during the early modern period being seen as a warrior was a key element of powerful kingship.⁶ Though her feminine attributes prevented her from presenting herself as an ordinary warrior monarch, she still persisted in invoking this image in order to legitimise herself as the true heir of the English throne.

1 I dedicate this piece to my father, Bernard Paranque, for being ‘un guerrier de lumière’, and would like to thank Professor Carole Levin, Professor Michael Questier, Dr Elena Woodacre and Professor Jason Peacey for their helpful comments and their support.

2 Anne McLaren, ‘Queenship in Early Modern England and Scotland’, *Historical Journal*, 49/3 (2006): pp. 935–55.

3 Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics and Partnership* (New York, 2013), p. 14.

4 Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 121.

5 Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York, 1995); Christine Coch, ‘“Mother of my Contreie”: Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 26/3 (1996): pp. 423–50.

6 See Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: the Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (London, 2002), particularly pp. 36–52.

Queens have also been compared to the Israelite judge Deborah who was known for leading her people to victory.⁷ Anne McLaren has explored the impact of the image of Deborah on Elizabeth's female kingship and draws a parallel between the two women: 'like Deborah a prophetess will, in common with her subjects, understand God's will through the exposition of godly men'.⁸ The just cause defended by Deborah would help Elizabeth to portray herself as a fair warrior. Moreover, Carole Levin has raised comparisons between the demonstrations of Elizabeth's power and the first-century Icenic Queen Boadicea, especially at the time of the Spanish Armada where: 'depictions of Boadicea's bravery and nationalism against her Rome, augment Elizabeth's power against her modern Rome'.⁹ Therefore it appears that Elizabeth was consciously emulating these great women who had become famous for the imposition of their own authority.

Anna Whitelock and Ben Spiller have focused on the warrior aspect of Elizabeth but have not looked at the several images and concepts that Elizabeth used to build her warlike authority.¹⁰ During her reign, the English queen and her government had to face many dangers. From the first military campaign in Scotland in 1560 less than two years after her accession to the threat of the Northern Rebellion in 1569, Elizabeth demonstrated her ability to oversee military action and take an active role in matters of justice when her authority was at stake.¹¹ Though it was not the first time the Tudor queen defended her monarchical authority, this chapter aims to elucidate the different representations of Elizabeth's female kingship at a time when both her life and the freedom of her realm were at stake: 1585–93. Indeed, it is important to reposition England in its European context and more specifically to shed light on England's relations with its closest neighbour: Scotland. The deadly

7 Some works have focused on the issues for queens to depict themselves as warriors; for example, Kelly DeVries reveals Deborah's warlike skills in 'Catapults are not Atomic Bombs: Towards a Redefinition of Effectiveness in Pre-Modern Military Technology', *War in History*, 4 (1997): p. 460. See also Antonia Fraser, *The Warrior Queens* (London, 2002).

8 Anne McLaren, 'Elizabeth I as Deborah: Biblical Typology, Prophecy and Political power', in Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (eds), *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, 2003), p. 91.

9 With the permission of Carole Levin to cite an unpublished paper: 'Representations of British Queens', presented at the *South Central Renaissance Conference* (Omaha, March 2013). The paper is part of Levin's current book project.

10 Anna Whitelock, "'Woman, Warrior, Queen?': Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth', in Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (eds), *Tudor Queenship: the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York, 2010), pp. 173–89; Ben Spiller, 'Warlike Mates? Queen Elizabeth and Joan La Pucelle in 1 Henri VI', in Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (eds), *Goddesses and Queens: the Iconography of Elizabeth I* (Manchester and New York, 2007), pp. 34–44.

11 See: Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558–1603* (New York, 2000); Paul E.J. Hammer, 'The Catholic Threat and the Military Response', in Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds), *The Elizabethan World* (London, 2000), pp. 629–45; Nicola M. Sutherland, 'The Origins of Queen Elizabeth's Relations with the Huguenots, 1558–1562', in *Princes, Politics and Religion, 1547–1589* (London, 1984), pp. 73–96.

relationship, as Alison Plowden calls it, between Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth I allowed the latter to develop a specific warlike rhetoric.¹² Indeed, it seems that this specific kind of rhetoric was triggered by the threat that the Scottish queen embodied to the English throne. By analysing a number of Elizabeth's speeches and letters to Mary Queen of Scots, James VI and the queen's closest advisors, this chapter explores the different and complex images that Elizabeth exploited to assert her military authority and offers a more complete view of Elizabeth's female kingship as a whole. Elizabeth carefully combined the ideals of temperance and justice with the image of the fair warrior. Being a successful military king was not only about being a warrior but also about being a just ruler who could sacrifice himself for the preservation of his people and kingdom. For Elizabeth, it was no longer about being equipped for battle, but about asserting a royal authority in bypassing feminine ideals and misogynistic preconceptions.

Justice, Temperance and the Fair Warrior

Anna Whitelock explains that: 'Monarchs were ordained to protect their people with strength and justice and this was seen to be dependent on military might'.¹³ This concept of the judge linked to the warrior was a fundamental one. The warlike monarch needed to emphasise his temperance in order to differentiate himself from a tyrannical ruler.¹⁴ The challenge for Elizabeth was to prove her ability to portray herself as a warrior monarch, unafraid of potential conflict, as well as proving her ability to be temperate. Moreover, she had to distance herself from the common perceptions of women.¹⁵ The idea that women were not fit for war nor conflict nor complex politics was based on contemporary belief in their foolish nature. Such opinion was expounded by the Protestant firebrand John Knox in the *First Blast of the Trumpet* (1558): 'For their sight in civil regiment is but blindness, their strength weakness, their counsel foolishness, and judgement frenzy, if it be rightly considered'.¹⁶ Yet, Elizabeth drew temperance to the fore in a crisis situation, knowing the importance of representing the peaceful face of the monarch to the public in times of high stress and anxiety. When, in 1586, she had to deal with the petition from the

12 Alison Plowden, *Two Queens in One Isle: The Deadly Relationship Between Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots* (Stroud, 1999).

13 Anna Whitelock, 'Woman, Warrior, Queen?', p. 173.

14 It is important to point out that, although not all tyranny is warlike, people feared that a tyrant would proceed with unfair wars for his own gain. On the theme of tyranny see: Cesare Cuttica and Glenn Burgess (eds), *Monarchism and Absolutism in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2012); Geoffrey Robertson, *The Tyrannicide Brief* (London, 2005); Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London, 1992); John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667–1714* (New York, 1999).

15 John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558; STC 15070).

16 Ibid., p. 10.

Parliament urging her to execute her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth reminded them in the first that she was the one in charge: 'for now all is to be done by the direction of the queen'.¹⁷ While in her second reply, she insisted on her temperance: 'And for temper, I have had always care to do as Augustus Caesar, who being moved to offense, before he attempted anything was willed to say over the alphabet'.¹⁸ By adopting this wise tone, Elizabeth depicted herself as a composed and serene monarch who was able to make serious decisions, unlike common women, in the face of a challenge to her authority. Though at first sight these qualities might seem to contradict the image of a warrior monarch, as a woman, Elizabeth was equally concerned with contemporary ideals of femininity, and combined they allowed her to be seen as a fair warrior and judge.

Elizabeth was acutely aware of this double-edged representation of herself as a warrior. In her second reply to the Parliament in 1586, the queen openly shared her concern regarding her desire to avoid association with the tyrant figure:

I have cause to think how narrowly mine actions are like to be sifted and finely scanned by some good fellows abroad, who spare not to publish pamphlets, libels, and books against me with detestation of me and my government, giving me for an alms (I thank for them for it) to be a tyrant . . . that from which always my nature above all things hath most abhorred.¹⁹

Yet, the capability to make important decisions, particularly those regarding going to war, was a fundamental basic of being a monarch during the sixteenth century. Elizabeth insisted on her just attitude and claims: 'I have pardoned many traitors and rebels, and besides I well remember half a score treasons which have been either covered or slightly examined or let slip and passed over, so that mine actions have not been such as should procure me the name of a tyrant'.²⁰ One could argue that this declaration was purely propaganda, but it was essential to distinguish the warrior figure from that of the tyrant figure for any early modern monarch. In using justice and the idea of what is 'right', Elizabeth created her own definition of a warrior. She asserted: 'For I knew that my cause was ever just . . . For in th'ambition of glory I have never sought to enlarge the territories of my land'.²¹ Not being afraid of conflict was important, but just and fair cause must be presented to drag a country into a war.

17 'Queen Elizabeth's first reply to the parliamentary petition urging the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, November 12 1586', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, (ed.) by Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago and London, 2000), p. 189.

18 'Queen Elizabeth's second reply to the parliamentary petition urging the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, November 24 1586', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 198.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 197.

20 *Ibid.*

21 'Queen Elizabeth's Speech at the Closing of Parliament, April 10 1593', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 331.

In matters of justice beyond war, Elizabeth was determined to portray herself as tempered in her judgement even in times of crisis. In a letter sent to her cousin Mary in October 1586, Elizabeth explained to her the 'inestimable grief' she bore knowing that Mary claimed with 'great protestation not to be in any sort privy or assenting to any attempt against' Elizabeth's 'state or person'.²² The English queen continued by expressing the importance of justice in her decision making process:

... we have found it therefore expedient to send unto you divers of our chief and most ancient noblemen of this our realm, together with certain of our Privy Council, as also some of our principal judges, to charge you both with the privy and assent to that most horrible and unnatural attempt.²³

In referring to the 'horrible and unnatural' plot in which Babington had been found conspiring against Elizabeth, she substantiated her right to judge her cousin. The Babington plot had an impact on Elizabeth's self-representation and marked a turning point in Elizabeth's warlike rhetoric. This was not the first time she had been directly threatened, but it was the first time that her councillors had been able to prove her cousin's involvement in, or awareness of, a plot. However, Elizabeth did not want to rush her judgement and decided to act with prudence while appearing as firm and determined. This prudence served her eloquence as well as her warrior figure. After writing to Mary, Elizabeth wrote to Lord Burghley on 12 October 1586 acknowledging that 'the Scottish queen doth absolutely refuse to submit herself to trial'. Nevertheless, she ordered Lord Burghley to: 'report to us of your proceedings and opinion'.²⁴ Elizabeth showed that she was in charge of the judgement process and that she would take the time she needed to make a decision. One could argue that it was through her image as a fair warrior that Elizabeth could advocate the benefits of adopting a patient attitude over a hasty one. Elizabeth was a learned queen, as Linda Shenk has shrewdly demonstrated, and she knew how mercy and wisdom would help her consolidate this image of a fair warrior.²⁵

The image of a fair warrior was also based on the combination of strength, justice and mercy. In a letter to Sir Amias Paulet, who was appointed as guardian of Mary Queen of Scots in 1585, Elizabeth demonstrates her benevolence: 'And bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards

22 'Digest to Elizabeth's Letter to Mary, Queen of Scots, October 6 1586', in *ibid.*, p. 287.

23 *Ibid.*

24 'Digest of Queen Elizabeth's letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, October 12 1586', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 288.

25 Linda Shenk, 'Turned Learned Authority into Royal Supremacy: Elizabeth I's Learned Persona and Her University Orations', in Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (eds), *Elizabeth I: Always Her Free Woman* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 78–96.

the saver of her life many years'.²⁶ Elizabeth depicted herself as Mary's saviour and wanted Paulet to remind her cousin that how dangerous her decision to foster Mary as a refugee in her own country when she fled Scotland in 1568 had been: 'to the intolerable peril of our own; and yet, not content with so many forgivenesses, must fall again so horribly'.²⁷ Dealing with Mary's trial put Elizabeth in a difficult situation, one which was only exasperated by the Scottish queen's execution in 1587. The death of Mary Queen of Scots had an impact on Elizabeth's image as a warrior. Indeed, the English queen proved that she was able to protect herself from 'devilish and wicked minded subjects',²⁸ as well as from 'the serpent that poisons' her.²⁹ By using the image of 'the serpent' to describe Mary to James VI of Scotland, Mary's son and legitimate king of Scotland, Elizabeth emphasised her own innocence and purity, openly blaming Mary for the decision to take part in the Babington plot which had ultimately led to her downfall. She explained to James that though she had wanted 'to keep the serpent . . . By saving of her life they would have had mine'.³⁰ The fair warrior does not start a war nor does he seek revenge, but protects his life for the greater good. This was what Elizabeth had to do in 1587.

Furthermore, later in 1588, when England was at war with Spain, Elizabeth decided to distance herself from the king of Spain who was depicted as a tyrant: 'I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning though not the end of the ruin of that King that, most unkingly, even in mids of treating peace, begins this wrongful war'.³¹ The fair warrior had God on his side as Elizabeth claimed 'for by God's singular favor, having their fleet well beaten in our narrow seas'.³² God protected England of 'this wrongful war' because Elizabeth was a fair warrior who defended justice and her realm. Elizabeth proved how devoted she was to the English cause and combined other images to her fairness in order to create her warlike rhetoric.

Bravery and Devotion to the English Cause

The image of Elizabeth as a warrior monarch is mainly based on her success over the Armada in 1588, as Whitelock and Spiller have discussed.³³ As a consequence, the status of a warrior monarch is linked to the Queen's speech given at Tilbury. Spiller posits that the speech given to the English troops at Tilbury

26 'Elizabeth to Sir Amias Paulet, August 1586', in *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works*, (ed.) Steven May (New York, 2004), p. 172.

27 Ibid.

28 'Queen Elizabeth to the Commoners of London, August 18 1586', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 285.

29 'Elizabeth to James, January–February 1587', in *ibid.*, p. 293.

30 Ibid.

31 BL, Add. MS 23240, Elizabeth to King James VI of Scotland, Mid-August 1588, fols 77r–77v.

32 Ibid.

33 Anna Whitelock, 'Woman, Warrior, Queen?', p. 174; Ben Spiller, 'Warlike Mates?' p. 34.

prior to the Spanish Armada's arrival has: 'established and perpetuated her iconic status as a warrior queen'.³⁴ Though the authenticity of the event has been questioned, it appears it did happen. Janet M. Green has proposed that a substantial body of evidence can be drawn upon to prove the validity of the oration, including contemporary corroboration and the strong comparisons which can be drawn between the oration's 'internal rhetoric' and other extant speeches.³⁵ The question of whether the Tilbury oration occurred or not is not the concern of this chapter but the notion of bravery is striking in the Tilbury speech:

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too – and take foul scorn that Parma or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm.³⁶

This quote is now infamous. According to Kevin Sharpe, Elizabeth used here the feminine ideals of her time that women were 'weak and feeble' to her own advantage, embodying the little English island 'threatened by the mighty Habsburg'.³⁷ Shakespeare's words from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 'though she be but little, she is fiercel' seem to perfectly describe both England and the queen.³⁸

One could argue that it was common among monarchs to use the rhetoric of bravery and courage in order to appear as strong and fearless. Nevertheless the way in which this was done varied from monarch to monarch, and for a single woman ruling a country the notion of fearlessness had to be stressed. When in 1586, the Queen of Scots represented a real threat to the safety of the English queen, Elizabeth needed to be perceived as brave. In her speech of 12 November 1586, she insisted on her fearless attitude:

I will not leave you in an error, for that perchance you may think the cause of my not coming to the Parliament amongst you to be the fear I have of myself, which is not so, but the grief which I should have continually to hear of these causes.³⁹

She did not want to spread the image of a 'weak and feeble woman' but tried to act with a 'heart and stomach of a king'. Yet, if this declaration had to be

34 Ibid.

35 Janet M. Green, "'I My Self': Queen Elizabeth's Oration at Tilbury Camp', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28/2 (Summer, 1997): pp. 421–45, at p. 421.

36 'Queen Elizabeth's Armada Speech to the troops at Tilbury, August 9 1588', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 326.

37 Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 337.

38 William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, ii, in *The Plays of William Shakespeare in Ten Volumes* (London, 1803), p. 263.

39 'Queen Elizabeth's first reply, November 12 1586', p. 190.

asserted, did it mean that she was not convincing? To some extent Elizabeth must have felt apprehension and insecurities regarding how best to resolve this complex situation. During 1586 Elizabeth was in the process of building her fearless image and her warlike female kingship. She developed a manner of combining the rhetoric of fear with that of bravery, and little by little strengthened her assertions of power over her subjects. Indeed in 1593 when the 'second' Spanish Armada was repelled from the English coast, Elizabeth claimed:

You have heard at the beginning of the Parliament some doubt of danger – more than I would have you to fear. Doubt only should be if not prevented; and fear, if not provided for. For mine own part, I protest I ever feared; nor what fear was, my heart never knew.⁴⁰

She wanted to reassure the public and further consolidate her image as a leader. The victory against the first Armada definitely gave her the confidence and ability to do so. In this speech of 1593 she even used the word 'heart' to remind her audience of this former glory and her position as their king in all but gender. She asserted:

I would not have you returning into the country to strike the fear into the minds of any of my people, as some, upon the arrival of the late navy, dwelling in a maritane shire fled for fear farther into the middle of the land.⁴¹

In the whole speech, it is striking to notice that the word 'fear' occurred more than five times. It gave the impression that the real enemy was not the Spanish fleet in itself but the fear that people might feel in such a situation. This version of the speech is crucial as it seems to have been delivered to 'a wider public' as Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose argue.⁴² Therefore, this speech must be considered as a propaganda text in order to prepare people for war. In adopting a fearless attitude in front of her people, Elizabeth promoted this concept of the brave warrior, which it could be argued was intricately linked to devotion and by consequence to the martyr/sacrifice figure.

The Martyr and the Christian Soldier

Indeed, to depict herself as a warrior, Elizabeth had previously used the rhetoric of a martyr. A martyr had a cause and was not afraid of dying for God. It implied the idea of sacrifice and as a result reminded people of the ultimate martyr: Jesus Christ. This idea was created and developed when the Scottish queen represented a real threat to England. Elizabeth needed to disseminate

40 'Queen Elizabeth's Speech at the Closing of Parliament, April 10 1593', p. 331.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 332.

42 In *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 331.

a strong image of herself, while also demonstrating her sincerity and concern about the outcome of this delicate situation. Being responsible for the execution of another monarch, not to mention a kinswoman, was certainly one of the most difficult decisions that Elizabeth had to make. In the first reply to the Parliament in 1586, the English queen decided to portray herself as a victim of this situation:

I conceive no small grief that there should be some within my realm, of mine own subjects, found so wicked and disloyal as that they should seek to take away my life, and most of all that one of mine own sex, state, and kin should be consentful thereunto and guilty thereof.⁴³

Mary Queen of Scots is already found guilty and the trial has not yet taken place.

Though the word 'martyrdom' was never explicitly used by the queen, Elizabeth developed in this speech the martyr figure and built a bond with Jesus Christ. This can be explored by looking at her word choice regarding this 'special' bond: 'I must needs say they would have done no worse to me than to themselves, for that in seeking to destroy my body they sought the destruction of their own souls'.⁴⁴ Here the line drawn by the queen between a 'body' and a 'soul' reminded her audience of the two worlds, one in which they all lived, and the other to which they might be called by God and Jesus. She went on to insist on her mercifulness and generosity: 'For these horrible treasons and practices to tell you truly, I must protest that I am not grieved in respect of myself or of mine own life'.⁴⁵ To some extent, the treason might have echoed the treason of Judas to Jesus. Elizabeth did not want to appear as revengeful and merciless. Referring to her own benevolence, Elizabeth was able to draw this parallel with Jesus and by consequence to defend her decision. She claimed:

I may seem peradventure to bear her malice and to be desirous of revenge. And malice I know bringeth forth rash judgement and hasty proceedings oftentimes; but I take God to witness, from whom no secrets of hearts can be hidden, I bear her no malice nor seek other revenge but this: that I wish with all my heart that she may be repentant for this and all other her crimes.⁴⁶

In this declaration, one could argue that she tried to gain some time and to justify her lack of answer to the Parliament, emphasising that only she could make the right decision. In asserting that malice 'brings rash judgement and hasty

43 'Queen Elizabeth's first reply, November 12 1586', pp. 186–7.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*

proceedings', she directly pointed out the members of her council and Parliament who sought for the Scottish queen's death and declared that they were not impartial enough to make this decision. She maintained: 'I knew she did and would seek my destruction still, yet could I not consent to her death'.⁴⁷ In a difficult time, this ability to appear as calm and serious at the same time allowed the queen to create a rounded royal rhetoric that encompassed the many facets of ideal early modern kingship. Furthermore, her affirmation that she was not afraid of dying not only reinforced the militant fearless undercurrent presented during the Armada crisis, but also emphasised the nature of Elizabeth's kingship as a whole.

Regarding the martyr figure, it is important to explain the implications. Elizabeth was obviously not the martyr in this situation as she was not the one executed. However, as Elizabeth must have known, if Mary Stuart was declared guilty and executed for high treason she would have been perceived as a martyr by the Catholic community across Europe. As a consequence, in the first reply to the Parliament given by the queen, Elizabeth used the lexical field of the martyrdom for two purposes. Initially this was done to ward off any attacks from her enemies. Indeed, here, she needed to remind her audience and her foreign counterparts that she was the victim in the vile plots of the Scottish queen. Through letters sent in 1586 to her cousin James VI of Scotland, Elizabeth insisted on her innocence: 'demanded by yourself of the Master Gray, whether he knoweth not the price of my blood, which should be spilled by bloody hand of a murderer, which some of your near-akin did grant'.⁴⁸ Furthermore, she accentuated the gravity of her situation to him with this statement: 'the extreme danger my life was in'.⁴⁹ As well as highlighting her innocence, this martyr rhetoric helped her to develop her resolute stance and strengthened her Christian soldierly image. One could argue that she used the rhetoric of sacrifice more than the rhetoric of martyrdom, but both are intertwined with each other.

When Elizabeth appreciated the danger she stated: 'I would not desire to live'. This allocution appears twice in the first reply to Parliament in 1586 and once in her famous speech at Tilbury. In the first reply she stressed:

Wherefore the regard of life which I have is in respect of you and the rest of my good subjects, knowing that my blood could not have been shed but yours and theirs should have been spilt likewise. Whose happy and good estate if I were sure might be redeemed and preserved with my death, I protest before almighty God I would not desire to live.⁵⁰

And in the second reply she insisted: 'I might adventure much more, were it with danger of mine own life, which I protest before God I chiefly regard in

47 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

48 BL, Add. MS 23240, Elizabeth to King James VI of Scotland, January 1586, fol. 7.

49 *Ibid.*, Elizabeth to James, February 1587, art. 18, fols 57v–58r.

50 'Queen Elizabeth's first reply, November 12 1586', p. 187.

regard of yours'.⁵¹ In other words, if her death would have protected and spared her people, she would have sacrificed herself for the common good. She also referred to this in a letter sent to the commoners of London:

Assuring you that we desire no longer to live than while we may in the whole course of our government carry ourself in such sort as may not only nourish and continue their love and goodwill towards us, but also increase the same, we think meet that these our letters should be communicated in some general assembly.⁵²

The real and imagined dangers embodied by the Scottish queen, and by extension her church, determined that Elizabeth was pressed into making a crucial decision (which resulted in Mary Queen of Scots' execution). Later on, when England faced the Great Armada, she used the rhetoric of bravery intertwined with the rhetoric of self-sacrifice once again: 'being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live and die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people mine honor and my blood even in the dust'.⁵³ Here she expressed herself in a manner that implied she was not afraid of dying because her cause was just, thereby this openly demonstrated the link with the rhetoric of sacrifice and martyrdom. Moreover, this declaration seemed also to represent Elizabeth as the ultimate defender of her realm and of her Church.

In the early modern period being a warrior was associated with the possession of armour and a sword. As a woman, the opportunities for the queen to be represented as such were few. A warrior female king needed to play with different kinds of rhetoric to be legitimate. Elizabeth employed the rhetoric of a defender of religion to justify wars and difficult decisions. Again, when Mary, Queen of Scots, represented a real threat to the Protestant England in 1586, Elizabeth reminded her audience of her great concern regarding, not her life, but the settlement of the Church of England:

... my first care was to set in order those things which did concern the Church of God and this in religion in which I was born, in which I was bred, and in which I trust to die, not being ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to work in a kingdom a sudden alteration of religion.⁵⁴

Therefore, as a defender of her Church, Elizabeth became its protector and by extension its knight. When England faced another Spanish attack in 1593,

51 'Queen Elizabeth's second reply, November 24 1586', p. 199.

52 'Queen Elizabeth to the Commoners of London, August 18 1586', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 285.

53 'Queen Elizabeth's Armada Speech ... Tilbury, August 9 1588', p. 326.

54 'Queen Elizabeth's second reply, November 24 1586', p. 197.

Elizabeth took advantage of the situation to depict herself as brave and ready to defend 'her God':

For I knew that my cause was ever just, and that standing upon a sure foundation, I should not fail, God assisting the quarrel of the righteous, and such as arm but to defend . . . I doubt not but we shall have the greatest glory, God fighting for those that truly serve Him with the justness of their quarrel.⁵⁵

She clearly emphasised her position as the defender of the true religion and protector of her realm; however, the second part of the declaration was ambivalent. On one hand, Elizabeth wanted to appear as brave and as the right defender of the Church of England. On the other hand, she knew the limits of her warlike representation and rhetoric, as a consequence proffering God as her warrior and protector. To some extent, the appeal to God's protection regarding her life and realm helped her create another component of her military representation: a godly warrior who defends his faith, his realm and his people against his enemies.

Conclusion

Being a warrior monarch in sixteenth-century Europe required several qualities: strength, power and resourcefulness. No one would disagree with the idea that for a woman the task was even more difficult. Through her speeches during times of crisis assessed here – the threat of Mary Queen of Scots, the conspiracies and plots, the Spanish Armada and the tumultuous years that followed – Elizabeth effectively combined different concepts through her warlike rhetoric. Indeed, from temperance and justice to devotion and self-sacrifice, she developed a warlike rhetoric different from that of a male monarch where the word was as important as the sword. To avoid criticisms based on contemporary feminine ideals that argued against the involvement of women in war, Elizabeth developed different concepts and put the issue at another level: an intellectual level with which she was more comfortable. With words, Elizabeth could define her own warlike authority and rhetoric. She could choose the elements that would form the foundation of it. Elizabeth might not have been able to wear armour but she was determined to impose her authority through her speeches and her letters. Where some historians pay more attention to the facts (victories, defeats), it seems that the words which come afterwards are sometimes more meaningful in terms of representation and influence. For Elizabeth, the main weapons in her arsenal of warlike authority were undoubtedly her words and her abilities in manipulating them.

55 'Queen Elizabeth's Speech at the Closing of Parliament, April 10 1593', pp. 331–2.

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10 Feasting and Fighting?

Projecting Authority amongst the Later Seventeenth-Century Highland Elite

*Allan Kennedy*¹

Aristocratic culture in early modern Scotland has been something of a fashionable topic in recent decades. Work by the likes of Julian Goodare, Jenny Wormald, Barry Robertson and, especially, Keith Brown has done much to sharpen our understanding of elite power and lifestyle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² The issue of how noble authority was sustained and projected has been a prominent component of this output, with historians becoming keen to emphasise that the medieval tactic of simply fielding large armed forces increasingly gave way to a subtler and more sophisticated model utilising a wider range of strategies. However, much of this academic interest has dealt exclusively with the Lowlands; there remains in many quarters a reflexive assumption that the distinct social, cultural and political circumstances of the Highlands meant that elites there stayed wedded to outmoded display behaviours until well into the eighteenth century. But a considerable body of recent research has demonstrated beyond any serious doubt that the classic ‘clan system’, such that it ever existed at all, was already subject to serious erosion throughout the seventeenth century, and in light of this, it seems clear that airily dismissing lordly culture in the Highlands as backward or convention-bound is no longer tenable.³ This chapter, therefore, seeks to build upon both recent historiographical developments and original research to explore the ways in which Highland elites projected their authority in the later seventeenth century, with a particular emphasis on the Restoration between 1660 and 1688. It begins by exploring the nature of such display in conventional Gaelic society, assessing

1 I am indebted to the anonymous referee for their useful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

2 Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442–1603* (Edinburgh, 1985); Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society* (Edinburgh, 1986); Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999); Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000); Keith M. Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2011); Barry Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland: The Noble House of Huntly, 1603–1690* (Edinburgh, 2011).

3 The most important work on this has been done by Allan MacInnes, especially in Allan I. MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996).

how far these markers retained their currency. It will then evaluate the extent to which Gaelic display decayed in this period, before proceeding to highlight other, more cosmopolitan strategies of representing power.

Militarism and Kinship: Conventional Modes of Display

Display behaviour, designed to advertise and project chiefly authority, had conventionally been an integral component of Gaelic lordship, in Ireland as well as in the Highlands. Feasts and hospitality, for example, emphasised a chief's power by demonstrating his ability to marshal large quantities of food, thereby also proving that he controlled large tracts of land. Perhaps more important, and certainly attracting more comment from outsiders, was the militaristic complexion of Gaelic society. Again, this was arguably rooted in the realities of an underdeveloped economy; being able to sustain a fighting force sufficient to defeat neighbouring kindreds confirmed one's control over scarce resources, while also affording an opportunity to augment those resources at the expense of other groups.⁴ None of this should be pushed too far. Predatory mercantilism was hardly the only means of increasing a clan's resources, as the practice of trading black cattle to the Lowlands, stretching back at least to the early sixteenth century, demonstrates. Nonetheless, violence clearly played a key role in traditional Highland lordship. Solid credentials as a leader in war were essential for the successful Gaelic lord, and a kindred's strength was often measured by its ability militarily to dominate its neighbours. It was their (admittedly exaggerated) reputation for being able to field a fighting force of 10,000 men that had underpinned the power of the greatest medieval Gaelic chiefs in Scotland, the MacDonald Lords of the Isles.⁵

Militaristic display remained powerful into the later seventeenth century. Gaelic poetry continued to draw upon ideas of martial prowess as a means of eulogising chiefs, even if this was tinged with clear awareness of, and regret about, the growing assimilation of the *fine* (clan gentry) into wider Scottish

4 Robert A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493–1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 84–101; Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "'Civilizing of those Rude Partes': Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s–1640s", in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 124–47, at pp. 127–30; Alison Cathcart, *Kingship and Clientage: Highland Clanship, 1451–1609* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 140–41.

5 Aonghas MacCoinnich, "'His Spirit is Given Only to Warre': Conflict and Identity in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, c.1580–c.1630", in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c.1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 133–61, at pp. 155–60; Alexander Grant, 'Scotland's "Celtic Fringe" in the Late Middle Ages: The Macdonald Lords of the Isles and the Kingdom of Scotland', in Rees R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles 1100–1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections* (Edinburgh, 1988), reproduced in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c.1100–1707, volume 3* (Dundee, 2007), pp. 74–95, at p. 86.

and indeed British society.⁶ An anonymous song written probably in the 1680s about an unidentified Highland chief indicates very clearly the continuing currency of the chief-as-war-leader trope in Gaelic praise poetry:

*Ge b'e thagradh ann an strì ort,
Gu dearbh cha b'fhada gun dol sìos e.
Dh'èireadh Gòrdanaich leat dileas,
Luchd nan trupa gorma cruidheach;
'S lìonmhor aca pasgan phicean,
'S lìonmhor brataichean is pìoban,
'S lìonmhor clogaid is cuillobhair,
'S lìonmhor bogha is saighead dhìreach,
'S lìonmhor dag is sgithean phrìseil,
'S lìonmhor spàinteach air thaoch clì orr,
Glac an iubhair ann am bian-ghlaic.*

[Whosoever met with you in conflict, indeed he was soon defeated. With you Gordons would rise faithful, the troops with the shod, grey horses; numerous their pikes in bundles, numerous their pipes and banners, numerous their guns and helmets, numerous their bows and straight arrows, numerous their precious dirks and pistols, numerous the toledos at their left-sides, in a quiver of yew in a hide cover].⁷

Many other Highland chiefs attracted similar panegyric. The Harris poetess Mary Macleod lauded John Macleod of Raasay (d.1671) as her 'dear warrior' who could skilfully 'bend a bow from behind [his] head'; Roderick Morison, the 'Blind Harper', celebrated John Macleod of Dunvegan (d.1693) as 'a manly, active soldier' who could fight equally well with sword or pistol; and Iain Lom, the Bard of Keppoch, in praising Angus Macdonald, 1st lord MacDonnell as the legitimate chief of clan Donald, painted him as 'a skilled rider of a battle charger' and 'an excellent leader of hundreds'.⁸ For Gaelic poets, then, martial display remained throughout the later seventeenth century a powerful means of establishing the power and virility of their subjects.

6 Allan I. Macinnes, 'Gaelic Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Polarization and Assimilation', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485–1725* (London, 1995), pp. 162–95, at p. 185.

7 Anonymous, 'Luinneag Mhic Neachdainn' [Mac Neachdainn's Song], in Colm Ó Baoill (ed.), *The Harp's Cry: An Anthology of 17th Century Gaelic Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 166–73, at pp. 168–9.

8 Mary Macleod, 'Marbhrann do Iain Garbh' [Dirge for Iain Garbh], in *Gaelic Songs of Mary Macleod*, (ed.) James Carmichael Watson (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 26–31, at pp. 28–31; Roderick Morison, 'Oran do Iain Breac Mac Leòid' [A Song to John MacLeod of Dunvegan], in *The Blind Harper: The Songs of Roderick Morrison and his Music*, (ed.) William Matheson (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 4–11, at pp. 8–9; John MacDonald, 'Oran do Aonghas Og Morair Ghlinne Garaidh' [A Song for Angus Og Laird of Glengarry], in *Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John Macdonald, Bard of Keppoch*, (ed.) Annie M. Mackenzie (Edinburgh, 1964), pp. 94–101, at pp. 94–5.

This on-going fondness for martial display was not however limited to poetry. Hugh Fraser, 8th lord Lovat, in 1688 attended the funeral of the Ross-shire gentleman, Sir Robert Munro of Foulis. Lovat reportedly took advantage of this opportunity to advertise his family's power by sending a mourning party of 50 horsemen. At the same event, two more local families, the Rosses and the Munros, had the same idea, reputedly (if slightly implausibly) sending armed retinues of 1,000 and 600 men respectively.⁹ A larger-scale example had taken place in 1665, when Ewen Cameron of Lochiel and Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle staged a formal meeting aimed at ending a long-running feud centred on possession of disputed estates in Lochaber. In the presence of armed retinues several hundred strong, and in one account to the skirl of the bagpipes, the two men solemnly exchanged swords and proclaimed themselves friends.¹⁰ Even a leisure activity like hunting often took on the character of a military exercise, as the Episcopalian minister Robert Kirk recorded (in questionable verse) upon witnessing a hunt organised by the Marquis of Atholl in 1682:

The Hunting horn, when ere it roa'rd,
Great hoasts of hero's here did gather,
Which marcht up closely to their Lord
to Learn to act their parts together.
Stout Ajaxes, all voyd of Feares
Swift Asahels enclose the Deers
With huge Brigades of Volunteers
[...]
The scout was sent to view the prey
The Army's wings divide them out
Main-battel did with chieftain stay
all circled then the beast about
Light-Tenchel-hounds of gaine were many
The Barr's mid-hounds as fierce as any
Big-hounds Kept places low [and] Fenny.¹¹

Atholl's ritualised hunt, not to mention Kirk's reporting of it, reflects the fact that public display retained a martial twist for many Highland lords in the later seventeenth century.

9 James Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers: the Wardlaw Manuscript entitled 'Polichronicon seu Policratia temporum, or, the true genealogy of the Frasers', 916–1674*, (ed.) William Fraser (Edinburgh, 1905), pp. 465, 475.

10 John Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel*, (ed.) James Macknight (Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 192–3; Fraser, *Wardlaw*, pp. 453–4.

11 EUL, La.III.529, Notebook of Robert Kirk, 1681–83, fols 84–7. Military might remained important for the Murrays of Atholl into the eighteenth century; Daniel Defoe's *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724) noted that the by-now Dukes of Atholl were still feared because they could reputedly field a private army of 6,000 men. Bruce P. Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689–1746* (Dalkeith, 2004), p. 140.

The clearest means of asserting one's prowess in war was of course to go to war. Feuding had been an important feature of Scottish society up to the early seventeenth century, but a mixture of cultural change and government pressure ensured that it had largely been eradicated by the accession of Charles I in 1625.¹² In the Highlands, however, feuding survived. The Cameron-Mackintosh feud, terminated by the ritual weapons-exchange of 1665, was one example. The occasion for this ancient disagreement was disputed possession of the Lochaber estates of Glenluie and Locharkaig; the Camerons claimed these lands by right of settlement (known as *duthchas*), while the Mackintoshes asserted legal rights by charter (*oighreachd*).¹³ This was no isolated example; comparable feuds, many of them drawing upon long-established enmities, also flared up during the later seventeenth century between the Macleans and the Chisholms, between the Frasers and the Forbeses, between the Mackintoshes and the MacDonalds, between the Campbells and the Sinclairs and between the Campbells and the Murrays. The most significant of the lot was the conflict between the Campbells of Argyll and clan MacLean. Rooted in disputed possession of the island of Mull, this feud sucked in allied kindreds on both sides so that, by the late 1670s, it had fomented a miniature war on the western seaboard.¹⁴ Such a pattern of extensive feuding illustrates that the traditional militarism of Highland society was still wont to find its ultimate expression in real physical violence – a reminder in turn that war remained an important means of asserting dominance.

Another crucial component of conventional Gaelic lordship was blood. Kinship, whether real or imagined, was at the core of the clan system. It bound chiefs and tenants in a pyramid of mutual obligations whereby protection and patronage flowed down from the apex, while deference and obedience flowed back up.¹⁵ Equally, a large kin following (which could be further augmented through alliances with other clans) greatly enhanced the power and prestige of a chief. Again, Gaelic poets were keen to emphasise the on-going importance of family ties, as in an anonymous elegy to Iain Mackenzie of Applecross, who died around 1685, which offered an allegorical celebration of his role as leader of the kin:

*A' chraobh thu b'àirde anns a' choille,
Thar gach preas bha thu soilleir,*

12 Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland*, pp. 184–260.

13 EUL, La.II.511, Miscellaneous Papers, fols 21–2; BL, Add. MS 23123, Lauderdale Papers, 1665, fol. 235r; NRS, GD176/486, Mackintosh Papers; *Letters from Archibald, earl of Argyll to John, duke of Lauderdale*, (ed.) George Sinclair (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 22–4, 30; Drummond, *Memoirs*, pp. 188–92; Fraser, *Wardlaw*, pp. 453–4; Walter Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections Concerning Families in Scotland, made by Walter Macfarlane, 1750–1751*, (ed.) J.T. Clark (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1900), vol. i, pp. 347–76.

14 Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 39–71.

15 John MacInnes, 'Clan Unity and Individual Freedom', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 47 (1971–72): pp. 338–73, at p. 349; Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, pp. 61–3.

*A' cumail dìon air an doire
Le d' sgèimh ghuirm fo blàth dhuilleag.*

[You were the highest tree in the forest, over every thicket you stood distinctive, affording shelter to the oakgrove with your vigorous beauty under heavy foliage].¹⁶

In the real world as well, there is evidence that kinship continued to play a key role in Highland elites' projection of their authority. Part of this was the sense that kinsmen could valuably reinforce a chief's authority. As the Earl of Seaforth observed in 1668, 'we [tha]t lives at [th]e back of gods elbow desyres to haue o[u]r relationes in a conditione to doe a good turne or ane ill for us'.¹⁷ James Fraser, minister of Wardlaw, went further when he claimed that failing to exploit the natural reservoir of supporters provided by one's kin was abject folly:

It was the preposterous practice of the nobility in the north, especially Seaforth and Lovat, to bring in strangers to be their servants, and get that mony which our own kinsmen should have. These prove but spies amongst us, discovers our weakness, takes all the advantage of us they can, fledge their wings with our wealth, and so fly away and fixes it in a strange country.¹⁸

The reciprocal nature of Gaelic lordship likewise continued to influence lords' thinking. In 1664, for example, Walter Ross of Invercharron destroyed some cruives (fish traps) belonging to his chief, David Ross of Balnagown. Faced with this betrayal, the remaining Rosses rallied behind Balnagown:

Wee B[alnagown]'s kinsmen . . . doe unanimouslie consent that B[alnagown] persew I[nvercharron] legalie for the Riot [and] that he goe as far as the law will permit . . . and wee does faithfullie oblige ourselffs that we will assist [and] contribut with o[u]r Cheiff for effectuating of his designe.¹⁹

All of this suggests that many Highland lords continued to conceptualise their authority not only in terms of feudal superiority, but also through the prism of blood obligations. Kinship ties, in this view, reinforced their positions, and in turn the obligations of kinship formed a formidable supplement to the public presentation of their power.

16 Anonymous, 'Marbhrann Thigearna na Comraich' [Elegy to the Laird of Applecross], in Ó Baoill, *The Harp's Cry*, pp. 172–7, at pp. 176–7.

17 NLS, MS 7003, Yester Correspondence, 1660–69, fol. 115.

18 Fraser, *Wardlaw*, pp. 511–12.

19 *Old Ross-shire and Scotland as seen in the Tain and Balnagown Documents*, (ed.) William MacGill (2 vols, Inverness, 1909–11), vol. ii, p. 16.

Decline of Conventional Display

While recognising the continuing relevance to Highland lordship of both martial display and the glorification of kinship, we should be careful not to overestimate the importance of these means of projecting authority. Partly this was because neither of them quite retained their conventional power. Kinship was not on its own sufficient to ensure familial cohesion (arguably it never had been), and examples of disputes within kin-groups were legion.²⁰ John Campbell of Glenorchy, later 1st earl of Breadalbane, fell out bitterly with his nominal chief, Archibald Campbell, 9th earl of Argyll; George Gordon, 1st duke of Gordon, was plagued by rivals in the form of two separate kinsmen, Charles Gordon, 1st earl of Aboyne, and George Gordon, 1st earl of Aberdeen; Lachlan Maclean of Lochbuie found his clan split down the middle in 1685 by a revolt led by his own son, Hector; and clan Donald, of course, remained hopelessly divided between rival groupings, principally the Glengarry, Clanranald and Sleat septs, despite the fact that all of them acknowledged an overriding sense of shared kinship.²¹

Feuding, meanwhile, was tempered by the significant intrusion into Highland affairs of the legal process – as Robert Kirk noted ruefully, ‘to persue a Law–Quarrell’ had become ‘an universal infirmity now among all Ranks’.²² This reflected the substantial penetration of written land titles, which had for many decades gradually been replacing customary possession as the preferred means of holding land. At the same time, litigation was both facilitated and amplified by the Scottish government’s long-standing tendency to harness Highland militarism as an instrument of policy by playing off warring families against one another.²³ The Campbells were notoriously adept at turning the law to their advantage, and the traditional was upheld during the Restoration by the 9th earl of Argyll, who secured commissions of fire and sword against his enemies, the Macleans of Lochbuie, in 1674, 1675 and 1678.²⁴ But in such behaviour Argyll was very far from alone. William Robertson of Inshes likewise veiled a feud with John Grant of Glenmoriston using a commission in October 1665, while the Earl of Seaforth secured one in March 1672 against his traditional enemy, Neil Macleod of Assynt.²⁵ Slightly differently, Glenorchy’s feud with the

20 Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, p. 89.

21 Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VIII. The Manuscripts of the Duke of Athole and of the Earl of Home* (London, 1891), pp. 13–14, 19–20; *The Earls of Cromartie: Their Kindred, Country and Correspondence*, (ed.) William Fraser (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1879), vol. i, pp. 44–7; NRS, GD112/39/137/22, Breadalbane Muniments; WSRQ, MSS 1428, Unfishished memoir of the 1st duke of Gordon, Goodwood fol. 6; *RPCS, 3rd Series*, vol. viii, pp. 21–2; Lisa G. Curry, ‘Catholicism and the Clan Macdonell of Glengarry, 1650–1750’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2002), pp. 50–51.

22 NLS, MS 3932, Notebook of Robert Kirk, fol. 28r.

23 David Stevenson, *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 280–81.

24 *RPCS, 3rd Series*, vol. iv, pp. 272–4, pp. 432–5; vol. vi, pp. 34–6, 169–72.

25 *RPCS, 3rd Series*, vol. ii, p. 99; vol. iii, pp. 484–5.

Sinclairs of Caithness during the 1670s and 1680s was accompanied by his citing of at least eight individuals before the Justiciary Court in Edinburgh during 1681 alone.²⁶ All of this produced a class of feuding which was heavily clogged with legal procedure and which blurred the line between private violence and public justice, something exemplified by the last 'clan battle', at Mulroy in 1688, where the (defeated) Mackintosh forces were bolstered by a division of government troops seeking to subdue the (victorious) MacDonalds.²⁷ Such incidents were hardly the full-blooded expressions of warlike prowess usually associated with Gaelic society.

Conventional militarism was weakening in other ways too, partly as a result of socio-cultural change and partly because of legislative restrictions imposed following the Statutes of Iona (1609). For instance, the *buannachan*, a warrior-class of clan gentry in some west-coast families which had found fruitful employment in Ireland during the Tudor wars of the sixteenth century, had largely died out by the 1620s. The *creach*, similarly, vanished. This had been a form of ritualistic cattle-raid in which junior members of the clan *fine* demonstrated their coming-of-age by lifting livestock from a neighbouring clan, but the last example, perpetrated by a junior member of the MacDonalds of Keppoch, seems to have taken place in 1670.²⁸ Sea-power too was waning. Medieval chiefs, particularly islanders, had been notorious for the substantial fleets of galleys and birlinns at their disposal. But this was already passing into history by 1600, and although at least one family, the MacLeods, was still occasionally building birlinns into the eighteenth century, there is little to suggest that Highland lords retained meaningful naval capacities in the later seventeenth century.²⁹

It has been suggested that this decline in the formal apparatus of clan militarism was offset by an upsurge in banditry, which was supposedly sponsored covertly by chiefs.³⁰ Bandits certainly were active in the later seventeenth century (indeed they were successive governments' primary Highland bogeymen until the advent of Jacobitism), and some Highland lords, such as John Grant of Ballindalloch in the 1660s or Neil MacLeod of Assynt in the 1670s, were suspected of supporting them. In general, however, banditry was an expression of individual socio-economic distress rather than a means of projecting chiefly power, and elites usually had few links to it – hardly surprising, since it was a highly disruptive phenomenon which also tended to attract unwanted attention from central government.³¹

Other elements of accustomed display were in even more pronounced decline. Thanks partly to official crack-downs such as the Statutes of Iona,

26 NRS, JC6/10, High Court Minute Book, 1679–82, fols 261r–v, 263v–264r, 265v–266r.

27 Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, p. 280.

28 MacCoinnich, "His Spirit is Given Only to Warre", pp. 154–5; Macinnes, *Clanship*, pp. 33, 57–8.

29 Isobel F. Grant and Hugh Cheape, *Periods in Highland History* (London, 1997), pp. 162–4.

30 Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland*, p. 271.

31 Allan D. Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660–1688* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 77–88.

but more profoundly on account of financial hardship, the tradition of lavish feasting was largely dead long before 1700.³² Patronage of classical Gaelic poetry also decayed. Professional bardic families, permanently employed by Scottish chiefs, had still existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The MacMhuirichs in the service of the MacDonalds of Clanranald are the best known, but the O'Muirgheasains, linked to the MacLeods, and the MacEwans, employed by the Campbells, likewise remained extant. Such families drew upon extensive training to produce complex praise poetry in formalised, literary Gaelic, but their craft, and the patronage which sustained it, gradually withered – the MacLeans of Duart, who are said to have retained a salaried bard into the Restoration period, seem to have been the last family to do so. Chiefs' financial difficulties and changing cultural mores undoubtedly contributed to this decline, but classical verse was also squeezed by a vigorous upsurge in vernacular poetry. Freer in style, and written in everyday Gaelic, the work of these new poets was also much more responsive to contemporary developments than the backward-looking classical output. Writers such as Iain Lom, Mary MacLeod or Roderick Morison often drew upon celebratory conventions of eulogy and elegy, but not being bound by traditional patronage they were also able to hurl often vitriolic criticism at any chief of whose actions they disapproved – an opportunity of which they frequently availed themselves. Gaelic poetry may have enjoyed something of a golden age in the seventeenth century, but it did so by moving beyond its remit as a component of conventional lordly display.³³

Broadening the Repertoire: New Modes of Display

The pronounced weakening of accustomed Gaelic display behaviours by the later seventeenth century suggests that other strategies for projecting authority need to be considered. Perhaps the most obvious was a modified form of conspicuous consumption. Increased chiefly contact with the Lowlands was a pronounced feature of Highland history in this period, and as elites became more familiar with society outside the Highlands, so too they grew anxious to emulate the lavish lifestyles they found there. Some responded by attempting to gentrify their homes; Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, for example, employed the masons James Smith and James Nicholson to rebuild Cawdor Castle in a more stately style in 1684.³⁴ On a slightly less ambitious scale, Jonathan Urquhart

32 Macinnes, *Clanship*, p. 67; Tom M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester, 1994), p. 15.

33 Grant and Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*, pp. 174–80; Macinnes, 'Gaelic Culture', pp. 163–4; Allan I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638–1651: The Response to the Covenanting Dynamic' in J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason and A. Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 59–94, at pp. 60–62.

34 *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, (ed.) Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 367–9.

of Cromarty hired Robert Smith of Edinburgh as his gardener in 1677, promising him a salary of £72 along with a suit of clothes and two pairs of shoes, all in return for keeping Cromarty's garden suitably fashionable. Still more common was to purchase consumer goods. Dunvegan, having paid more than £174 for medicines in 1661, spent much of the rest of the Restoration buying copious volumes of luxury items such as lace, muslin, cinnamon, nutmeg and raisins.³⁵ Similarly, Duncan Macpherson of Cluny spent more than £470 on high-end fabrics in 1687 alone.³⁶ Display of this kind was not mere frivolity. Just as lavish feasts had once served to advertise chiefly power, conspicuous consumption established a lord's prestige by demonstrating that he had the wherewithal to live nobly.³⁷ Its adoption by Highland elites during the course of the seventeenth century is indicative of their growing engagement with the lordly culture prevalent outside Gaeldom.

Of course, display of this kind was at its most effective when paraded on a non-Highland stage. Absenteeism, as a result, became an increasingly ubiquitous feature of Highland lordship; Lady Caithness's complaint in April 1666 that her husband had been absent from his estates for fourteen weeks, leaving her 'all alone', did not reflect an unusual situation.³⁸ This trend attracted frequent and robust criticism from Gaelic poets. Lord MacDonnell was famously castigated by Iain Lom for spending too much time in Edinburgh or London, to the detriment of his clan and estates at home.³⁹ Similarly, Roderick Morison was at pains to warn Dunvegan that his penchant for spending lengthy periods in the south threatened to undermine his authority by allowing his son and heir, Norman, to pose as the true leader of the kin:

*Corr agus trì ràthean
tha thu 'd chadal sàmhach uam,
gun t'fhaicinn on a dh'fhàg thu sinn,
's ar chridhe ghnàth fo ghruaim;
a nis on thug thu cùl rium
's a laigh smuirean air ar gruaidh,
mar sholus an déidh dorchadais
tha Tormod mar by dual.*

[For more than three quarters you have enjoyed quiet sleep away from me; we have not seen you since you left us, and our hearts are for ever in dejection. Now that you have turned your back on me, and that a smut

35 *The Book of Dunvegan*, (ed.) Roderick C. Macleod (2 vols, Aberdeen, 1837–39), vol. i, pp. 185, 190–99.

36 NRS, GD80/197, Macpherson of Cluny Papers.

37 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, p. 71.

38 BL, Add. MS 23124, Lauderdale Papers, 1661, fol. 124r.

39 John Macdonald, 'Oran do Mhorair Chlann Dòmhaill' [A Song to Lord MacDonnell], in *Orain Iain Luim*, pp. 124–7.

has settled on our cheeks, Norman, as might be expected of him, is like light after darkness].⁴⁰

Such poems represented a conservative reaction against Highland assimilation into mainstream Scottish society, but they also highlight the extent to which local elites embraced the power of consumerist display as a means of projecting authority.

Chiefs' desire to embrace Lowland lifestyles came with a hefty price-tag, and this was partly responsible for the crushing debts under which many of them laboured by the end of the century. While some sought to service their obligations by exploiting the structures of clanship, perhaps by requesting loans or gifts from their clansmen, many responded by introducing innovative management practices onto their estates. At its crudest this might take the form of rent-raising, but more creative expedients included replacing long-term with short-term leases, commercially-orientated cultivation of land and resources, or development of extractive industries. The Campbells were in the vanguard of this shift, but evidence of some change can be found for many other estates – the Rosses of Balnagown, for instance, began in the 1660s selling large quantities of timber from their estates to, among other customers, the Royal Navy.⁴¹ Such commercial re-orientation was to some extent a mere practical necessity, but it also stimulated a pronounced shift in the way Highland lords understood their authority. In Gaelic tradition, the land was a communal resource, owned by the kindred and simply guarded by the chief on its behalf. But chiefs were implicitly moving away from this trusteeship and towards a model of proprietary lordship, with the later seventeenth century as the crucial tipping-point. Commercial re-orientation – not to mention the growing mania for written charters which presaged it – helped facilitate this conceptual change, but it also allowed lords to advertise a new kind of authority.⁴² They were no longer the mere custodians of clan resources, but independent landlords enjoying personal possession of their estates, with all the honour and prestige which that bestowed.

Another cosmopolitan method by which Highland lords projected their power was public office-holding. Admittedly, it proved difficult to break into the structures of central government. Only a small group of select Highlanders, usually senior and often thoroughly 'lowlandised' peers like the earl of Argyll or George Mackenzie of Tarbat (later created earl of Cromartie by

40 Roderick Morison, 'Oran do Iain Breac Mac Leòid' [A Song to John MacLeod of Dunvegan], in *The Blind Harper*, pp. 4–11, at pp. 10–11.

41 Macinnes, *Clanship*, pp. 142–8; Douglas Watt, "'The Labyrinth of thir Difficulties': The Influence of Debt on the Highland Elite c.1550–1700", *SHR*, 85/219 (2006): pp. 28–51, at pp. 29–33, 47–8; T.C. Smout, Alan R. MacDonald and Fiona Watson, *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500–1900* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 319–39.

42 Robert A. Dodgshon, "'Pretense of Blude" and "Place of Thair Duelling": The Nature of Scottish Clans, 1500–1745", in Robert A. Houston and Ian D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 168–98, at pp. 192–4.

Queen Anne), were able at any one time to secure offices of state or seats on Privy Council and Parliamentary committees – although this was not terribly surprising given the distinctly oligarchic character of Scottish government.⁴³ But at the local level, holding official office was a widely-recognised means of cementing lords' authority, while at the same time offering central government a cheap and easy way of extending its tentacles into the localities.⁴⁴ Highland elites were no slower than their Lowland counterparts at recognising the value of such service, something attested by a letter written in 1661 by George Sinclair, 6th earl of Caithness, to Charles II's Secretary of State, John Maitland, 2nd earl of Lauderdale, petitioning for appointment as sheriff of Caithness:

How behoouffull And proper that office is For me, the great sufferings
off my tenents by others excercising that office haith frome sad experi-
ence sufficentlie taught me . . . My Ancestors for manie generationes haue
enjoyed [and] exerced that office by heritabille right frome the king, The
Reneweing and confirmatione of giffits of this Natur to others hauing
Not bein Reffoused by his Maj[es]tie, I ame hopfull by yo[u]r Lo[rds]hips
means To haue the same fauo[u]r frome my prince.⁴⁵

Caithness's awareness that his local prestige depended in part upon securing the sheriffship was not unusual, and the perceived value of local office-holding to Highland lords can be confirmed quantitatively. During the reigns of Charles II and James VII, the Scottish state generated around 750 different instances of office-holding in the Highlands. Some of these offices, like sheriffships or justiceships of the peace, were judicial; others, such as the intermittent commissionerships for the valuation of the shires, were administrative. Still others, like the commissionerships of supply, were financial. In all, around 96 per cent of these offices were taken by Highland residents, with some three-quarters of them going to members of the major clan or family groups, most commonly the likes of the Campbells, Mackenzies and Sinclairs, but also the Camerons, Macdonalds, Macleans, Mackintoshes and many more.⁴⁶ What we see here, in other words, is a very clear Highland variant of the sort of magisterial control which dominated early modern society throughout much of Europe. This in

43 Keith M. Brown, *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603–1715* (Basingstoke, 1992), p. 33.

44 Brown, *Noble Power*, pp. 95–9. For wider perspectives on magisterialism in early modern Britain and Europe, see: Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1500–1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 347–55; John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (London, 2000), pp. 7–10, 23–6; William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 243–316; Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia* (London, 2007), pp. 63–4; Anthony Upton, *Charles XI and Swedish Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 166.

45 BL, Add. MS 23115, Lauderdale Papers, 1661, fol. 75r.

46 This data is discussed in greater length in Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom*, pp. 48–56.

turn demonstrates that the projection of elite power through service in the government bureaucracy was as integral to the culture of Highland lordship as it was to its counterparts elsewhere.

Religion offered a further major means of projecting authority. The region's relatively few Catholic lords could enrobe themselves in the clothing of missionaries; Lord MacDonnell's well-known interest in supporting Irish Catholic missionaries might have caused him some difficulties with the governments in Edinburgh and London, but it also secured a stellar reputation in Catholic circles which spread far beyond the confines of his own locality.⁴⁷ Nonconformists could adopt a comparable posture, as the 9th earl of Argyll did during his rebellion of 1685 by explicitly presenting himself as a champion of Presbyterianism.⁴⁸ Yet neither Catholicism nor Nonconformity were majority concerns in the Highlands; it was instead the established Church of Scotland, Episcopalian throughout the Restoration (1660–88), which was dominant. Scottish Calvinism had long embraced the notion of the godly magistrate as a crucial partner in fostering religious observance. But while this relationship was beneficial for the Kirk, it also had attractions for lords, including Highland lords, in that injunctions to obey secular authority were often delivered from the pulpit.⁴⁹ In other ways too, the Church could help confirm elite authority. The Presbytery of Dingwall, for example, repeatedly courted local worthies to help it stamp out delinquency, as in 1668 when Lady Seaforth was requested to round up a group of four fugitives from ecclesiastical discipline who resided on her lands.⁵⁰ The right to present ministers, restored to lay patrons after the Restoration, was an equally valued means of affirming lords' social pre-eminence, so much so that the Earl of Caithness complained directly to Parliament in 1661 when a minister was presented to the church of Dunnett in contravention of his superiority.⁵¹ Finally, local churches provided a perfect stage upon which to advertise power and importance – which explains an angry outburst by Tarbat in 1668:

That now I being also patron of the kirk [of Killearnan] should have my right [to a desk] more askitt on I doe not understand, I hope what is myne I may dispose of it as I pleas [...] by what authoritie Belnagouns werkmen removes a seat placed be my licence on my pairt of the church I know not.⁵²

47 SCA, BL/1/72/6, BL/1/68/1, Blair Letters; Fiona A. Macdonald, *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland 1560–1760* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 174–7.

48 NRS, CH1/5/117, Declaration of the Earl of Argyll, 1685.

49 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, pp. 235–6; Jane Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 231–53, reproduced in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (eds), *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c.1100–1707, Volume 4* (Dundee, 2007), pp. 109–27, at pp. 119–22.

50 *Records of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall*, (ed.) William Mackay (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 321.

51 NRS, CH2/47/1, Records of the Presbytery of Caithness, 1655–1707, fols 57–8.

52 NRS, GD129/1/11/38, Balnagown Castle Manuscripts.

For Tarbat, as for countless other Scottish heritors, the right to build and maintain a prominent desk in the local kirk was a valued means of demonstrating his local pre-eminence. This, in turn, reflects the fact that, notwithstanding the assumption in much historiographical discussion that the Highlands lacked a robust religious culture, later seventeenth-century elites recognised that religion, usually but not exclusively in the form of the established Church, could significantly reinforce their power, both intellectually and practically.

Conclusion

Academic research into Highland history has long been retarded by an unfortunate mixture of romanticism and disdain. Often the region is viewed either as an unspoilt time-capsule preserving ancient Gaelic culture, or as an outmoded backwater glorying in its own parochialism. In both cases, the net result is to detach Highland Scotland from the wider currents of historical development, emphasising instead its supposed uniqueness. But this concentration on Highland distinctiveness risks misunderstanding reality. It is certainly true that Highland elites retained during the later seventeenth century some appreciation for conventionally Gaelic display behaviours, especially surrounding militarism and kinship. There were, however, limits to the value of this, and in any case several other markers of Gaelic display were in terminal decline. As a result, these behaviours are best understood not as signs of backwardness, but as part of a much more nuanced strategy; many Highland lords also sought to advertise their power in exactly the same ways as did their Lowland counterparts, whether through conspicuous display, residence in London or Edinburgh, public office-holding or involvement with religion. It is therefore more or less untenable to speak of a purely Highland strategy for representing and projecting lordly authority by the later seventeenth century. Instead, we should characterise Highland lords as operating within a much broader cultural environment, emulating the activities of their Lowland counterparts while always feeling free to introduce a recognisably Highland accent.

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Section IV

Privileged Poetry, Music and Material Culture

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11 The Last Kings of Ireland

Material Expressions of Gaelic Lordship c.1300–1400 A.D.

*Elizabeth FitzPatrick*¹

Introduction

The centralising administration of King Edward I in Ireland, between 1272 and 1307, determined to disable the authority of all Gaelic kings, irrevocably. This process is reflected in Crown documentation which, soon after 1300, addresses major Irish leaders as *duces* (leaders) rather than *reges* (kings) and sometimes just by their names with the distinguishing qualification *hibernicus* (Irish).² Freya Verstraten has pointed out that the replacement of the title *rex* with *dux*, seen as early as the mid-thirteenth century in government documentation, is mirrored in Vatican documents, where one finds Donnchad Cairprech Ua Briain, King of Thomond, referred to as *dominus* (lord) by Pope Innocent IV (1243–54).³ In those rare instances when the term ‘king’ was used by the Crown as a form of address to Gaelic aristocracy during the fourteenth century, it was, as Robin Frame observes, applied with contempt and used ‘only to describe lesser figures who presented no threat’.⁴

Status anxiety among Gaelic Irish dynastic families, induced by this change in rank, appears to have been considerable and led to renewed claims to kingship by some of them during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Kingly pretensions in this period have traditionally been viewed as part of Gaelic ‘revival’ and ‘resurgence’, terms which, through general usage, have generated a kind of uncritical acceptance. Revival and resurgence imply renewal or coming back into being. However, kingship titles were not ‘revived’⁵ in any meaningful

1 My thanks to Dr Paul Naessens for the map that accompanies the text, to Dr Mark Stansbury (NUI Galway) for discussion about shrine inscriptions and to the National Museum of Ireland.

2 Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 36–7.

3 Freya Verstraten, ‘Images of Gaelic Lordship in Ireland, c.1200–c.1400’, in Linda Doran and James Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in Medieval Ireland: Image and Reality* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 68–9.

4 Robin Frame, ‘Two Kings in Leinster: The Crown and the Mic Mhurchadha in the Fourteenth Century’, in Terry Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), p. 156.

5 Raghnaill Ó Floinn, ‘Catalogue’, in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Ireland: Irish Art 3000 BC–1500 AD* (Dublin, 1983), p. 185.

long-term capacity but rather, publicised, during an extraordinary period in which Gaelic elite identity was thoroughly refashioned. This self-refashioning, with status as the central concern, was facilitated from the mid-thirteenth century onwards by what Frame has described as ‘a loss of colonising impetus’ on the part of Anglo-Norman society, typified by abandonment of manors in the Midlands, North Tipperary and the Southeast of Ireland, and greatly compounded and accelerated by climate change and attacks on colonial settlements by an improved Gaelic military.⁶

Katharine Simms has explained the history of the changing political structure of this period, in which Gaelic elites gradually transformed from kings into warlords. While political and institutional change characterise these shifts in the Gaelic world, it can be argued that the principal expression of the refashioning of Gaelic elite self-identity was material. This chapter focuses on the refurbishment of book shrines during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and the emergence of the *paillis* (palace, palisaded enclosure or fortress, palisade or stockade),⁷ c.1300, as significant material expressions of erstwhile kingship, by Gaelic lords.

Artefacts of Kingship

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, political recovery of Gaelic ruling families was expressed materially by the commissioning of great books, inclusive of family genealogies, such as the late fourteenth-century books of Ballymote, Lecan and Uí Mhaine,⁸ and by the refurbishment of earlier book shrines accompanied by potent donor inscriptions.⁹ Gaelic lords behaved like kings and publicly expressed themselves as royal through an array of material media, from the patronage of mendicant houses to the use of seals and heraldry, by hosting great feasts at pseudo-historical capitals of the island¹⁰ and, in some cases, by having themselves inaugurated on stone thrones.¹¹ This elite refashioning was also reflected in the act of convening assemblies at traditional sites but with the introduction of new rituals.¹²

Of the eight surviving Irish book shrines of pre-Norman origin, four of them were altered, embellished and inscribed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The authors of these changes were Gaelic lords who called

6 Frame, ‘Two Kings in Leinster’, p. 158.

7 E.G. Quin (ed.), *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* (Dublin, 1990), p. 494 [172].

8 Bernadette Cunningham and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (eds), *Aon Amharc ar Éirinn: Gaelic Families and their Manuscripts* (Dublin, 2013), pp. 5–11.

9 Colum Hourihane, *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169–1550* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 115–37.

10 Katharine Simms, ‘Propaganda use of the *Táin* in the Later Middle Ages’, *Celtica*, 15 (1983): pp. 142–9.; ‘The Barefoot kings: Literary Image and Reality in Later Medieval Ireland’, *Proceedings of Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 30 (2010): pp. 1–21

11 Elizabeth FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100–1600: A Cultural Landscape Study* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 138–61.

12 FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 1–12.

themselves kings in new inscriptions that politically re-modelled book shrines as objects of fanciful royal regalia. In her recent work on the relationship between sacral geographies and shrines in medieval Ireland, Karen Overbey has demonstrated that shrines were not simply containers of the relics of saints but that they inscribed ‘a sacred topography on the territories of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction’, and that both secular and ecclesiastical patrons of reliquaries used ‘performance, ritual and narrative’ in order to strengthen the efficacy of relics.¹³ It can also be argued that the later and often ostentatious refurbishments of shrines gave them renewed agency as signifiers of the royal heredity of their secular patrons during a period of great political change.

One of the two main faces of the shrine of the Stowe Missal (initially crafted in the mid-eleventh century for a small pocket-size manuscript) was altered in the late fourteenth century by Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh, Lord of Urumhan (Figure 11.1). The refurbished face of the shrine contains figural images with narrative and devotional references. Such late additions to the surface of the shrine is believed to have ‘encouraged active engagement from the viewer’.¹⁴ However, the incised figures, which are placed between the arms of a gilt-silver cross, are somewhat over-powered by the cross itself which is bejewelled with studs of red and blue glass and a very large, centrally placed, cabochon rock crystal. On the margins on the same face of the shrine, Ó Ceinnéidigh styled himself ‘king’ in the donor inscription in the Irish language which reads ‘*OR DO PILIB DO RIG URU(MAND)*’.¹⁵ His wife, Áine, is included in the dedication, as well as the craftsman and the abbot of the Augustinian priory of Lorrha in North Tipperary.¹⁶

In the adjoining lordship of Éile (southern County Offaly) where the Gaelic sept of Uí Chearbhaill recovered most of their land in the fourteenth century, Tadhg Ó Cearbhaill, lord of that territory between 1380 and 1407, patronised additions to the



Figure 11.1 The refurbished face of the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (Board of Trustees National Museum of Ireland). See plate section

13 Karen E. Overbey, *Sacral Geographies: Saints, Shrines, and Territory in Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 2012), p. 183.

14 Overbey, *Sacral Geographies*, pp. 98, 163, 164.

15 Translation: ‘A prayer for Pilib, king of Ormond who covered this shrine’.

16 Ó Floinn, ‘Catalogue’, pp. 163–5.

mid-twelfth-century shrine of the Book of Dimma, which included a large equal-armed cross raised over quadrants of openwork geometric plaques on the front, with a small crucifixion scene superimposed on the cross. Strips of gilt silver that frame the front of the shrine are inscribed in Lombardic style, ‘TATHEVS O KEARBVILL REI DE ELV MEIPSUM DEAVRAIT’,¹⁷ and with dedications to the abbot of the local priory at Roscrea and to the goldsmith who fashioned the additions.¹⁸ The shrine as display object was an ideal medium to promote claims to kingship during a period characterised by the attrition of kingship and reactive Gaelic resurgence in the South Midlands and North Tipperary sept lands of Ireland.

One of the most significant insights into what constituted symbols of ‘resurgence’, for a Gaelic lord with immediate royal antecedents, is a suite of three objects associated with the Mac Murchadha Caomhánach, Lord of Leinster. These include the shrine of the Book of Moling (Figure 11.2), in addition



Figure 11.2 The Shrine of the Book of Moling. An inscription dated 1402, beneath the rock crystal, commemorates Art Mac Murchadha Caomhánach (Board of Trustees National Museum of Ireland). See plate section

of the king of Leinster’, and an Oliphant or ivory hunting horn commonly known as the ‘Kavanagh Charter Horn’. The horn was modified and mounted as a drinking horn during the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. An ornamental brass rim mount with an inverted Gothic or black letter inscription and brass plates cast in the form of bird-like webbed feet were added to it, coinciding with a period of renewed claim to the overlordship of Leinster by the Mic Mhurchadha Caomhánaigh dynasty of south-east Ireland.¹⁹ Similar drinking vessels of ox or ivory horn with brass, copper or silver mounts were common in Northern Europe, especially in Scandinavia, during the fifteenth century.²⁰

The ‘Charter Horn’ – a ceremonial drinking cup – has been described as ‘the only piece of Irish regalia to have survived the Middle Ages’,²¹ but

17 Translation: ‘Tadhg Ua Cearbhaill, king of Éile had me gilt’.

18 Hourihane, *Gothic Art in Ireland*, pp. 124–6; Ó Floinn, ‘Catalogue’, p. 173.

19 Raghnaill Ó Floinn, ‘The Kavanagh “Charter Horn”’, in Donnchadh Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish Antiquity: Essays and Studies Presented to Professor M.J. O’Kelly* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 269–78.

20 Ó Floinn, ‘The Kavanagh “Charter Horn”’, pp. 272–3.

21 Caption to the ‘Kavanagh Charter Horn’ in the Medieval Ireland exhibition at the National Museum of Ireland.

the refurbished shrine of the Book of Moling with its donor inscription 'ARTTURUS REX, DOMINUS LAGENI[A]E . . . ANNO D[OMI]NI MILL[ES]I[M]O QUADRAGESIMO SEC[UN]DO'²² magnified beneath a crystal setting, at the centre of the front face of the shrine,²³ also communicates the renewed claims of Art Mac Murchadha Caomhánach to the kingdom of Leinster in 1402. Both objects were probably contrived as 'kingship' effects in the same period. The alterations made to book shrines encourages a view of them not just as art objects and religious artefacts of the Gaelic 'revival', but as 'royal' regalia used to invoke and publicly display claims to kingship by lords.

The *Pailís* as Kingly Residence

In his description of the 'Gaelic revival', James Lydon referred to it as happening 'under the initiative of a new generation, which spurned the compromising attitude of their fathers. Its success was marked by a gradual recovery of lands that had been feudalized and by assimilation of many settlers in varying degrees to the Gaelic way of life'.²⁴ However, as Robin Frame has shown, several Gaelic ruling families were not actually chased off their land during Anglo-Norman colonisation but remained on as rent payers to Anglo-Norman overlords. In the Anglo-Norman heartland of Leinster, for instance, the Mic Mhurchadha lords had stayed on their land in North Wexford, and during the fourteenth century Art Caomhánach, dynast of that family, had lordship over both Irish and colonial communities.²⁵

The fact that several ruling families across the island remained on their patrimonial lands affords an opportunity to explore the kinds of dwellings that they had during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries before the general, but not exclusive, gradual move towards tower-house living from the fifteenth century onward.²⁶ It also opens the way to a re-interpretation of the owner-occupiers of certain elite settlement forms, such as the moated site, on lands conventionally viewed as colonised and, interpreted erroneously, as thereby lost to Gaelic ruling families.

How did Gaelic elites with newly conferred status as lords express their authority in the settlement forms that they used? At the beginning of the fourteenth century the *pailís* makes its first appearance in Gaelic poetry as an elite building. The Irish *pailís* is a borrowing from Middle English (late twelfth to fifteenth century), *palis*,²⁷ which itself may be loaned from Old French *palais*,

22 Translation: 'Artturus the king, lord of Leinster . . . in the year of the Lord 1402'.

23 Thomas K. Abbott, 'Note on the Book of Mulling, *Hermathena*, 8/17 (1891): pp. 89–90.

24 James Lydon, 'A Land of War', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987), p. 268.

25 Frame, 'Two Kings in Leinster', p. 173.

26 Kieran O'Connor, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland*, Discovery Programme Monographs 3 (Dublin, 1998), p. 102.

27 Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, p. 494 [172].

pales, which in turn derives from Medieval Latin *palacium* and Roman Latin *palātium*.²⁸ Medieval Welsh *palas* and *plas* also relate to the Old French *palais* but can mean ‘place’ too, and it came to Wales with the French after the Norman Conquest. In the Welsh context it most often refers to a mansion or manor house.²⁹

The place-name *pailís* occurs in all four provinces of Ireland (Figure 11.3). Patrick O’Connor, using Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan’s earlier distribution map of *pailís* place-names,³⁰ identified 44 instances of the word as prefix, suffix or middle element in Irish place-names, with unqualified occurrences (anglicised *Pallas* and *Pallis*) the most numerous. He adds that *pailís* ‘enjoys best recurrence in the hybrid regions away from the strongest anglicized areas’.³¹ It should be noted that the instance of the place-name in O’Connor’s map is artificially inflated by later subdivisions of those landholdings, commonly

into upper, lower, east, west, big, little and its Irish forms ‘beg’ (from Irish *beag* meaning ‘small’) and ‘more’ (from Irish *mór* meaning big). Rationalised, the actual headcount of medieval landholdings with *pailís*-related place-names is 30, including three occurrences overlooked by O’Connor in Fermanagh, Monaghan and Roscommon (see below).

There is good reason to believe that a conventional reading of the word *pailís*, as ‘palisade’ or ‘stockade’ and an interpretation of what it means as ‘a circumscribed defensive structure from the colonizing phase of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland’,³² is too narrow and exclusive. Some of the *pailís* place-name locations explored in this chapter support the idea that, in a late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century context, *pailís* implies an elaborate timber hall befitting a king but used by a Gaelic lord. Kenneth Ferguson in his discussion of the place-name has suggested that it may have specifically designated

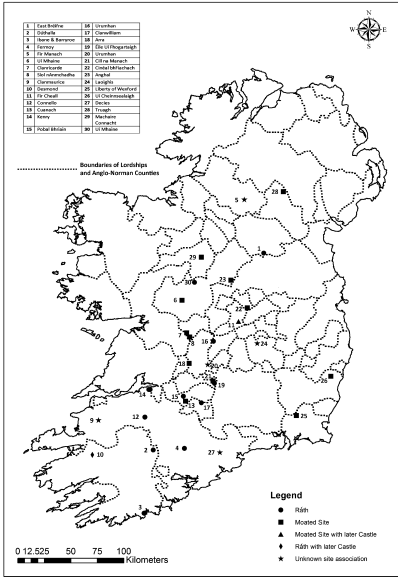


Figure 11.3 Historical distribution of *pailís* place-name locations and associated field monuments where known. Numbers refer to the territories in which they were situated (Paul Naessens). See plate section

28 Robert K. Barnhart (ed.), *Chambers Dictionary of Etymology* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 748.
29 Gareth A. Bevan and Patrick J. O’Donovan (eds.), *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, 3 (Caerdydd, 1998), pp. 2672, 2819.
30 Deirdre Flanagan and Laurence Flanagan, *Irish Place Names* (Dublin, 1994), p. 130.
31 Patrick J. O’Connor, *Atlas of Irish Place-Names* (Newcastle West, 2001), pp. 122–3.
32 *Ibid.*, pp. 122–3.

a banqueting hall of rectangular plan.³³ The process by which the word was first adopted and used in Ireland in the high medieval period is unclear, but its introduction is probably the result of Anglo-Norman influence. Subsequently, it was applied to particular landholdings in both colonised and un-colonised territories of the island (Figure 11.3) and it is detectable today in the various anglicised name forms of *pailís* given to some Irish townlands. Who named those landholdings is unknown, but it was perhaps the learned families of Gaelic lords, an elite cohort within service families that supported the household of the lord. More particularly, it may have been the poets and/or keepers of *senchas* or traditional history who applied this august toponym to mark the timber halls and feasting venues of their lords.

The term *pailís* is used in the ‘house-poems’ composed in praise of new dwellings of particular lords in the early fourteenth century. The house of Aodh Ó Conchobhair, Lord of Machaire Chonnacht, which was built sometime during his lordship, between 1293 when he first assumed power and 1306 when it was attacked and burned, is described as a *pailís* in two poems dated by Simms to the early fourteenth century.³⁴ The poems *Tómhur mhúir Chruachna i gCluain Fraoich*³⁵ and *An tú arís, a ráith Teamhrach*³⁶ both use the term *pailís* as a device to communicate a view of the Ó Conchobhair’s house as a palace befitting a king. In *Tómhur mhúir* it is described as ‘*Pailís bríoghmar ar bhláith brughváith na Ríoghradh ráith na sgoil*’³⁷ and in *An tú arís* the poet over-reaches himself and compares the dwelling to ‘*Pailís lonrach leomain Chuilt*’.³⁸ The certainty that the word was current and used of an elite building is compounded by place-name evidence from the sixteenth century which reveals that the correct title of the landholding in which Ó Conchobhair’s dwelling had been situated was ‘Palishclonfrey’, a corruption of the Irish ‘*Pailís Cluain Fraoich*’ and translated as the ‘Palace of Fraoch’s water-meadow’.³⁹ The same source indicates that as late as 1594, service families of the Ó Conchobhair lord of Machaire Chonnacht

33 Kenneth Ferguson, ‘Castles and the Pallas Placename: A German Insight’, *The Irish Sword*, 22/89 (2001): p. 247.

34 Katharine Simms, ‘Native Sources for Gaelic Settlement: The House Poems’, in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), p. 257.

35 Translation: *A model of Cruachain Castle is in Cluain Fraoich.*

36 Translation: *Is it thou once more, Rath of Tara?*

37 Translation: ‘strong fair-halled palace\ palace of kings and poets’. See ‘Poem to Clonfree Castle’, (trans.) and (ed.) Lambert McKenna, *Irish Monthly*, 51/606 (1923): p. 644.

38 Translation: ‘The resplendent palace of the Lion of Colt’. See ‘O’Conor’s House at Cloonfree’, (trans.) and (ed.) Edmund Crosby Quiggin, in Quiggin (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 336–7.

39 *Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Philip, and Elizabeth I*, Vol. IV 1586–1603, (ed.) Kenneth W. Nicholls (Dublin, 1994), p. 242 [5888]. This place-name is not included in Patrick O’Connor’s map of *pailís* place-names – see O’Connor, *Atlas of Irish Place-Names*, p. 122.

remained on that landholding long after the *pailís* had been vacated by the Ó Conchobhairs in favour of a stone castle.

Aside from *Pailís Cluain Fraoich*, there are four other instances of *pailís* place-names in Connacht. These are in the Uí Cheallaigh lordship of Uí Mhaine, in the Uí Mhadáin lordship of Síol nAnmchadha in east county Galway, and in what became the Burke lordship of Clanricarde (Figure 11.3). Frame has noted that an extent of the lands of the Anglo-Norman de Burgh overlord, taken in 1333, indicates the tentative hold that the colonists had over large tracts of the Connacht landscape. The land was controlled by no more than a handful of Anglo-Norman sub-tenants who had 'inserted themselves above the Irish population' and who lived alongside Gaelic lords such as the Uí Cheallaigh of Uí Mhaine and the Uí Mhadáin of Síol nAnmchadha 'who continued to do the same thing, while owing rent to their colonial overlords'.⁴⁰ In Connacht, rather than dispossessing Gaelic rulers of their lands, the Anglo-Norman de Burghs and de Berminghams acted as their overlords.

A large moated site known as 'Lismore', south of the Clonbrock River in the townland of Pallas and near the Franciscan Friary of Kilconnell in east County Galway, is the likely location of the *pailís* of the Ó Ceallaigh lord of Uí Mhaine during the fourteenth century. In keeping with the trend for service families to be found in close proximity to, or re-occupying, *pailís* settlements, the townland of Pallas is adjoined immediately to the south by the townlands of Ballydoogan ['the place of Ó Dubhagháin'] and Cartrondoogan that constituted the landholding of the Uí Dhubhagháin poets to the Ó Ceallaigh lord. On their lands a lavish feast for the 'poets, brehons, bards, harpers, gamesters, jesters' of Ireland, hosted by Uilliam Ó Ceallaigh Lord of Uí Mhaine, was held in 1351. The fourteenth-century poem *Filidh Éireann go haoiteach*,⁴¹ composed by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh (d.1387), celebrates the generosity of the host.⁴²

Pailís place-names also occur in the south Ulster lordships of Méig Uidhir of Fir Mhanach, Uí Raghallaigh of East Bréifne and Méig Chionaodha of Truagh, in the respective modern counties of Fermanagh, Cavan and Monaghan (Figure 11.3). A strong measure of control was retained by the Gaelic ruling families of those territories at the height of Anglo-Norman colonial dominance in the first half of the thirteenth century. O'Connor's map of *pailís* place-names includes Mount Pallas in the parish of Kilbride, Co. Cavan, close to the border with Co. Meath, which he claims as 'a sort of clarion outlier in the midlands',⁴³ but he omits those for Fermanagh and Monaghan which otherwise provide a fuller picture of the phenomenon in south Ulster and have important implications for expressions of lordly authority in the marches of Ulster. Siobhán McDermott's study of the landscape archaeology of the Méig Chionaodha lordship of Truagh identified the *pailís*, implicit in the local townland name Pullis, Co. Monaghan, as the site of a *ráth* or earthen enclosure

40 Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland 1169–1369* (Dublin, 1981), p. 100.

41 Translation: *The poets of Ireland to one house to-night*.

42 'Filidh Éireann go haoiteach', (trans.) and (ed.) Eleanor Knott, *Ériu*, 5 (1911): pp. 50–69.

43 O'Connor, *Atlas of Irish Place-Names*, p. 123.

and possible timber hall.⁴⁴ The place-name ‘Palyst’ [sic *Pailís*], in the lordship of Fir Manach, is preserved in a Tudor fiant of 1594 in which it was, at that time, connected with the Meic Gafraidh who were vassals of the Méig Uidhir lords of Fir Mhanach.⁴⁵

Pailís as a place-name is also found in Leinster, in the modern counties of Laois, Longford, Offaly and Westmeath and their cognate Gaelic lordships of Laoighis (Uí Mhórdha), Anghal (Uí Fhearghail), Fir Cheall (Uí Mhaolmhuidh) and Cinéal bhFiachach (Méig Eochagáin). The place-name occurs in the southeast of Ireland, in the Anglo-Norman Liberty of Wexford, close to the border with the territory of Uí Cheinnsealaigh, and it occurs again in Uí Cheinnsealaigh, in the rough land of North Wexford, bordering Wicklow which, at the height of colonisation, had been retained by the Irish king Domnall Cáemánach Mac Murchadha in return for which he served the Anglo-Norman lordship of Leinster as seneschal of the ‘Irish of Leinster’.⁴⁶

In Munster, which experienced highly variable intensities of Anglo-Norman colonisation, with reassertion of Gaelic dominance in some territories in North Tipperary, especially in the second half of the fourteenth century, several *pailís* locations have been recorded (Figure 11.3). Six *pailís* place-names are found in Tipperary, in the northern lordships of Uí Dhubhuidhir of Cill na Manach, Uí Cheinnéidigh of Urumhan, Uí Bhriain of Pobal Bhriain, Mac Uí Bhriain Arra and Uí Fhógartaigh of Éile Uí Fhógartaigh, and in the lordship of the Anglo-Norman Burke of Clanwilliam. *Pailís* place-names are also found in the Munster counties of Cork, Kerry and Limerick: on the former lands of Uí Chaoimh of Dúthalla and Barry Roe of Ibane in Co. Cork; Fitzmaurice of Clanmaurice and Mic Carthaigh of Desmond in Co. Kerry; and Meic Uí Bhriain of Cuana and Fitzgerald of Desmond in Co. Limerick.

Analysis of the distribution of *pailís* names (Figure 11.3) indicates that the majority are disposed to boundary zones between major territories, and to frontiers between significant colonial monuments and Gaelic lands. There is also a concentration in the Midlands and North Tipperary where colonial settlement was thin and the Gaelic septs remained intact. The presence of *pailís* in boundary areas strongly indicates that they may have been used as high-status markers in the configuration or reaffirmation of Gaelic sept boundaries. As Adrian Empey has explained: ‘Even in the heyday of the colony the position of the settlement in the north [of Tipperary] was under threat from the indigenous Irish’ and although ‘they may have been forced to yield ground, they retained a wide measure of autonomy even within the framework of the great capital manors’.⁴⁷ Where Gaelic leaders such as Uí Cheinnéidigh of Urumhan,

44 Siobhán McDermott, ‘The Archaeology of the Twelve Tates of McKenna, c.1591’, *Clogher Record*, 20/2 (2010): pp. 373–406.

45 Nicholls, *Irish Fiant*s, p. 242 [5888].

46 Kevin Down, ‘Colonial Society and Economy in the High Middle Ages’, in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987), p. 445.

47 Adrian Empey, ‘The Norman Period, 1185–1500’, in William Nolan and Thomas G. McGrath (eds), *Tipperary: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1985), pp. 86–7.

Uí Chearbhaill of Éile, Uí Dhubhuidhir of Cill na Manach, Uí Bhriain of Pobal Bhriain, Mac Uí Bhriain Arra and Uí Fhógartaigh of Éile Uí Fhógartaigh remained on their lands and retained their traditional forms of social and political organisation, their ‘resurgence’ during the fourteenth century was especially visible. As described above, Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh, Lord of Urumhan, expressed that political recovery by styling himself as ‘king of Urumhan’ on the fourteenth-century refurbished face of the shrine of the Stowe Missal (Figure 11.1). Likewise, Tadhg Ó Cearbhaill, lord of the neighbouring territory of Éile ensured a visible display of his self-styled status as ‘king of Éile’ in the inscription on the front face of the shrine of the Book of Dimma.

With such a visible parade of kingship claims in art objects of this period, it is likely that the reason for the border geography of the *paillís* is not defensive but arguably to make a highly visible statement about claims to territory and political recovery on the part of Gaelic dynasties. In respect of a relationship between boundary zones and *paillís* locations, it should be pointed out that while neither *Paillís Cluain Fraoich* nor the *paillís* of the Uí Cheallaigh of Uí Mhaine, in Connacht, are located on major territorial boundaries, they were both situated in frontier areas in terms of their proximity to key colonial monuments and settlements. *Paillís Cluain Fraoich* and the nearby Uí Chonchobhair assembly place of Carn Fraoich were within easy reach of the royal fortress of the English king at Roscommon, and Ballintober Castle which was built by the Anglo-Norman de Burgh earls of Ulster.⁴⁸ It can be concluded that *paillís*, as used in place-names, is current predominantly in Gaelic-dominated territories, and in colonised areas where Gaelic lords were not moved off their lands but paid rents to Anglo-Norman overlords and, in some instances, recovered full liberty of their lands. While the word itself is adopted from Middle English/Old French, its presence does not necessarily signal an Anglo-Norman settlement form but rather a term borrowed into the Irish language from Anglo-Norman society. What is clear is that the application of this word to medieval landholdings in the Irish landscape had a demonstrable meaning. While it is difficult on the basis of a place-name alone to distinguish between *paillís* as ‘palace’ and the more prosaic ‘palisade’, the surviving archaeology, literature and historical geography associated with some of these place-names suggests that the place-name *paillís* can distinguish a palace or mansion of a lord with recent royal ancestors and kingly pretensions. The use of the term must have carried some authority or was designed for that purpose in the changing circumstances of Gaelic elites who, while making political recoveries as lords, lost their status as kings during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The field monuments, from which the majority of *paillís* landholdings derive their name, appear to be the *ráth*⁴⁹ and the moated site. There is no geographi-

48 Rory McNeary and Brian Shanahan, ‘Medieval Settlement, Society and Land Use in the Roscommon Area, an Introduction’, in Niall Brady (ed.), *North Roscommon in the Later Medieval Period: An Introduction*, Discovery Programme Reports 7 (Dublin, 2005), pp. 3–4.

49 Translation: ‘A circular space enclosed by one or more earthen banks and fosses’. Elizabeth FitzPatrick, ‘Native Enclosed Settlement and the Problem of the Irish “Ring-fort”’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 53 (2009): pp. 271–307.

cal distinction between them, with the majority of the *ráth* sites also found in territorial boundary and frontier zones and in the lordships of the Midlands and North Tipperary (Figure 11.3). It should be noted that the true extent of medieval landholdings are not always consistent with townland units, and that a likely *pailís* field monument is sometimes found in a townland adjoining the one that carries the reference to the *pailís*. Also, multiple enclosures occur in some *pailís*-named landholdings and it is therefore impossible to identify which is the likely candidate outside of using size and earthwork defences as a measure of status.

Of interest is the fact that moated sites occur in 13 of the 30 instances of the place-name location. Two *pailís* sites are associated with later tower houses which appear to have succeeded the respective *pailís*. At Pallaspark in Ballyboy, Co. Offaly, the Ó Maoilmuaidh lord's tower house was built on a large moated platform which may have enclosed an earlier timber hall, and at Pallis Maguinhy, Co. Kerry, a tower house was constructed just 70 m north of a large *ráth*. Twelve *pailís* locations are distinguished by the presence of a *ráth*. In the remaining five instances of *pailís* place-names, the identity of the field monument related to the *pailís* is uncertain (Figure 11.3). A particular challenge in proving the identity of a *pailís* in the field arises where both a moated site and a large *ráth* occur on the same medieval landholding. This is the case in Anghal, Co. Longford, where a large *ráth* is located in the subdivision of Pallas More and a moated site borders the River Inny in the adjoining subdivision of Pallas Beg. *Pailís* was a seat of the Uí Fhearghail Buidhe. A chronicle entry for 1476 records that 'a great army of the English of Meath marched into Magh-Breaghmaine [Barony of Shrute, Co. Longford] . . . and took possession of *Pailís* . . .'.⁵⁰

It can be tentatively argued that over a third of the *pailís* mapped in Figure 11.3 are synonymous with timber halls on moated sites and that some of the remainder are perhaps timber halls on the platforms of the more traditional *ráth*. This in turn might suggest that some Gaelic lords were building new timber dwellings within traditional native settlement forms during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵¹ The rest of the locations have no upstanding remains of field monuments. No *pailís* has yet been excavated and therefore there is a tendency to rely on poetic descriptions of timber halls to elicit their form. Katharine Simms has warned about extracting 'definite information' from the house poems because they deliberately invoke fanciful comparisons with heroic and supernatural palaces.⁵² Nonetheless, mindful of this caution, Tom Finan and Kieran O'Connor have attempted to excise the appearance of the *pailís* of Aodh Ó Conchobhair of Cluain Fraoich from the late fourteenth-century poems *Tomhur mhúir Chruachna i gCluain Fraoich* and

50 *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, (trans.) and (ed.) John O'Donovan (7 vols, Dublin, 1856), vol. iv, pp. 1100, 1101.

51 I have discussed the vexed question of the chronology of native enclosed settlements elsewhere. See FitzPatrick, 'Native Enclosed Settlement', pp. 277–83.

52 Simms, 'Native Sources', p. 256.

An tú arís, a ráith Tèamhrach? The ‘blue moat’ described as enclosing the site in the first poem, is interpreted by them as a ‘wet fosse’ surrounding the moated site identified as the *pailís* in Cloonfree townland (Figure 11.4). Both poems imply that the *pailís* had a single earthen bank as a defence, which is at variance with the field evidence that indicates two banks and an intervening fosse. However, Finan and O’Conor suggest that the external bank could have been a secondary addition to the site.⁵³ Led by the poetic references, they speculate too that the entrance to the moated platform was ‘defended by a two-storey wooden tower, which rested on dry-stone footings’, and that the timber house, a banqueting hall, was built of wattles, provided with windows, and that the roof was cruck-built and thatched.⁵⁴

Terry Barry’s early work on moated sites, published between 1977 and 1996, proposed that they were defended manor houses of minor Anglo-Norman gentry during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,⁵⁵ while Adrian Empey believed that they belonged to a secondary phase of Anglo-Norman settlement between 1225 and 1325.⁵⁶ The orthodox opinion that moated sites were



Figure 11.4 *Pailís Chluain Fraoich*, ‘palace of Fraoich’s water-meadow’, identified as a moated site in the townland of Cloonfree, County Roscommon. See plate section

exclusive to and synonymous with Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland has been greatly moderated by the work of Kieran O’Conor who has demonstrated that the moated site was the preferred residence of some Gaelic elites in areas of Connacht and particularly in the Uí Chonchobhair lordship of Machaire Chonnacht, the core of which did not experience Anglo-Norman settlement.⁵⁷ The synonymy between the moated site and the *pailís* observed in this chapter broadens the debate to include moated sites found in areas where Gaelic lords stayed on their lands and paid rent to Anglo-Norman overlords, and also to

53 Tom Finan and Kieran O’Conor, ‘The Moated Site at Cloonfree, Co. Roscommon’, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 54 (2002): p. 79.

54 Finan and O’Conor, ‘The Moated Site’, pp. 80–81.

55 Terry Barry, *Medieval Moated Sites of South-East Ireland* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 101–2; Barry, ‘Rural Settlement in Ireland in the Middle Ages: An Overview?’, *Ruralia*, 1 (1996): p. 137; Barry, ‘The Defensive Nature of Irish Moated Sites’, in John R. Kenyon and Kieran O’Conor (eds), *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 182–93.

56 Adrian Empey, ‘Medieval Knocktopher: A Study in Manorial Settlement – Part 1’, *Old Kilkenny Review*, 2/4 (1982): p. 335.

57 Kieran O’Conor, ‘The Morphology of Gaelic Lordly Sites in North Connacht’, in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland: Land, Lordship and Settlement c.1250–c.1650* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 338–45; Kieran O’Conor, ‘The Ethnicity of Moated Sites’, *Ruralia*, 3 (2000): pp. 92–102.

moated sites found at locations where Gaelic lords recovered lands during the retreat of the colony from the mid-thirteenth century onward.

After Anglo-Norman colonists began to retreat from the ‘wooded and boggy areas of the Midlands, North Tipperary and southeast of Ireland, where a manorial framework had earlier been sketched out’,⁵⁸ Gaelic lords consolidated their personal demesnes and their authority over their lordship boundaries. Typical among these was Art Caomhánach Mac Mhurchadha, who having remained in possession of his family’s lands in North Wexford, exercised lordship over both Irish and colonial communities.⁵⁹ It has already been shown that Art had the shrine of the Book of Moling refurbished in 1402 and, with great ostentation, he as donor was commemorated in the inscription beneath the crystal that dominates the front of the shrine (Figure 11.2).⁶⁰ The core of the early medieval patrimonial lands of his Uí Cheinnsealaigh ancestors was North Wexford near the border with Wicklow (Figure 11.3), a location that is distinguished by the former assembly place of the sept in Loggan Lower townland, and southwest of which are the townlands of Pallishill, Pallis Upper and Pallis Lower where some of the service families of Uí Cheinnsealaigh lived as late as the sixteenth century. Foremost among those service families were the Meic Eochadha,⁶¹ hereditary poets and inaugurators of the Uí Cheinnsealaigh ruling family. Their role in that respect is encapsulated in the place-name of the assembly site, Leac Mhic Eochadha, as recorded by Geoffrey Keating.⁶² West of Pallis, and southwest of Loggan Lower, there is a group of townlands around Buckstown House Demesne that are named – Knocknagapple (‘hill of the horses’), Racecourse, Deerpark. These, together with the assembly place, the *pailís* celebrated in the townlands of that name and the presence of the landholding of the poet-inaugurator, point to the dynastic centre of the Uí Cheinnsealaigh. The coincidence of the place-name *pailís* with a moated site (Figure 11.5), hunting grounds and the assembly place of a Gaelic ruling family makes a compelling case for the identity of the *pailís* as the status building of choice.



Figure 11.5 The ploughed-over remains of a moated site, possibly the site of the *pailís*, in the townland of Pallis Lower, County Wexford. See plate section

58 Frame, ‘Two Kings in Leinster’, p. 158.

59 Ibid., p. 173.

60 Thomas K. Abbott, ‘Note on the Book of Mulling’, p. 89.

61 Thomas F. O’Rahilly, ‘Irish Poets, Historians, and Judges in English Documents, 1538–1615’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section, C* 36 (1922): p. 91.

62 Geoffrey Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* 3, (trans.) and (ed.) Patrick S. Dinneen (London, 1914), pp. 14–15; FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 91–2, 104.

Conclusion

During the later medieval period in Ireland, Gaelic lords continued to publicly identify themselves as immediate descendants of kings through carefully chosen elements of material culture. Evocations of Gaelic kingship in the material record of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries have traditionally been seen as evidence of ‘revival’, a period of renewal imbued with ‘a new spirit of confidence’.⁶³ The uncritical use of terms like ‘revival’ and ‘resurgence’ has somewhat impeded a more complex perspective on the behaviour of Gaelic elites in this period. The phenomenon of ‘revival’, viewed over a century or more, may have an alternative appreciation as an attempt by Gaelic dynasties to display their royal lineage with varying degrees of impact during a profound period of change when their status declined irretrievably to that of lords. What emerged was a greatly refashioned concept of what it was to be Gaelic and elite.

In acts of ostentatious patronage, book shrines in particular were remodelled by Gaelic lords during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By the time the respective shrines of the Stowe Missal, the Book of Dimma and the Book of Moling were refurbished, and claimed by Gaelic ruling families through prominently placed donor inscriptions, they had long histories as potent artefacts that underpinned political relationships. Their later refurbishment has generally been viewed as generous patronage of religious artefacts in the spirit of Gaelic cultural and political ‘revival’, but it has been argued here that the changes made to shrines were contrived as a very public medium through which the onlooker was reminded of the recent royal ancestry and kingly status of their donor lords.

There is some evidence to suggest that a new settlement form, the Irish *pailís*, can be identified as a timber hall of a Gaelic lord with immediate royal predecessors and kingly pretensions during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Feasting, and the power display associated with that activity, may have been the primary role of the *pailís*. The geography of the majority of *pailís* locations is liminal suggesting, perhaps, that they were intended as feasting venues marking key frontier areas, and boundary zones of sept lands and nascent Gaelic lordships. A strong argument can be made for the identification of moated sites as the location of *pailís* or timber halls of Gaelic lords on the basis of their political geography and records of the presence of Gaelic household service families at these places. One of the most compelling cases for the association of a moated site with a lordly *pailís* is *Pailís Cluain Fraoich* in Machaire Chonnacht. That identification is supported by two early fourteenth-century house-poems, sixteenth-century evidence for the place-name *Pailís Cluain Fraoich* and the presence of service families of the Uí Chonchobhair on that landholding. The association of the moated site of Lismore with Uilliam Ó Ceallaigh, Lord of Uí Mhaine, is strengthened by the presence of the Uí Dhubhagháin poets and historians to the Uí Cheallaigh in that landscape and by the geography and settlement features communicated in a mid-fourteenth-century poem in praise of Uilliam’s

63 Ó Floinn, ‘Catalogue’, p. 185.

Christmas feast. Such service families would have been involved in high-status entertainments for their lords. The combination of *pailís* place-name, moated site, assembly place and hunting grounds, and the presence of the bardic family of Meic Eochadha, in the landscape of northern Uí Cheinnsealaigh, points to the old royal demesne lands and mensal lands of that territory, and to what may have been a *pailís* feasting venue for the Mic Murchadha Caomhánaigh.

The identification of *pailís* in the territories of Gaelic septs suggests that the construction of palatial timber halls, possibly for feasting, on moated sites and *ráths*, was an expression of the survival of Gaelic culture through and alongside Anglo-Norman colonisation, and subsequent political recovery. However, such expressions of recovery and authority, in the remodelling of shrines and in the construction of halls, might also be viewed as reactive rather than propitious since what had been lost was not regained but steadily and eventually refashioned as lordship.

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12 ‘Out of My Contree’

Visions of Royal Authority in the Courts of James I and James II, 1424–1460

Kylie Murray¹

The definition of fifteenth-century Scottish writing as literature which ‘came to the court rather than from it’² has shaped the landscape of Older Scots literary studies over the last twenty-five years. As a result, we now have a much sharper sense of the extent to which Older Scots works, particularly in the latter part of the fifteenth century, have their transmission and reception rooted in noble households, rather than the royal court.³ This chapter returns to the royal Scottish court, and reappraises three earlier fifteenth-century works, the *Kingis Quair* (c.1424),⁴ Walter Bower’s prose Latin *Scotichronicon* (1440s)⁵ and the anonymous Older Scots verse romance, *Lancelot of the Laik* (c.1437–60?).⁶ It explores how these works are very much products of royal court culture in Scotland from the first half of the fifteenth century, and are especially concerned with paradigms of articulating royal Scottish authority. It suggests for the first time that Bower’s *Scotichronicon* responds directly to the *Kingis Quair*, and that the dream-prologue of *Lancelot of the Laik* takes James’s poem as its principal source. Thus, comparison of these texts reveals how some literary aspects of court culture from James I’s reign can be understood as continuing into James II’s minority and reign proper.

1 I wish to express my thanks to Professor Sally Mapstone, Professor Peter Davidson and Dr Janet Hadley Williams for their helpful and insightful comments on drafts of this chapter. I am also grateful to the AHRC and the British Academy for supporting my research.

2 Sally Mapstone, ‘Was there a Court Literature in Fifteenth-Century Scotland?’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26 (1991): pp. 410–22, at p. 421.

3 For recent examples, see Joanna Martin, *Kingship and Love in Scottish Poetry 1424–1540* (Aldershot, 2008); Nicola Royan, “‘Mark Your Meroure Be Me:’ Richard Holland’s *Buke of the Howlat*”, in Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (eds), *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 49–62.

4 *Kingis Quair* quotation comes from *The Kingis Quair Together With The Ballad of Good Counsel*, (ed.) Walter W. Skeat, STS 1st ser. 1 (Edinburgh and London, 1884), giving stanza, line and page number.

5 *Scotichronicon* quotation comes from *Chron. Bower* giving book, chapter, line, volume and page number, with upper case roman numerals for book number and lower case roman numerals for volume number. Line numbers refer to the Latin text.

6 *Lancelot* quotation comes from *Lancelot of the Laik: A Scottish Metrical Romance, About 1490–1500 AD*, (ed.) Walter W. Skeat (EETS, Original Ser. 6, London and New York, 1965), citing page and line number.

The Kingis Quair

The *Kingis Quair* is best known as the first Scottish work written in the courtly style, for its autobiographical and amatory themes, and an allegorical dream-vision which occupies 99 of its 197 rhyme royal stanzas. Purportedly written by James I on his release from English captivity and return to Scotland, the *Kingis Quair's* royal attribution has remained a matter for debate since John T.T. Brown's 1896 study.⁷ James is not named in the poem itself, but is instead identified in the unique manuscript witness of the text which considerably post-dates James's death in 1437, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 (c.1489–1513),⁸ specifically, by the second of its two scribes and a later sixteenth-century reader of this volume.⁹ More recent scholars generally accept that while not conclusively by James, the poem is clearly to be understood as being about him.¹⁰ The life events recounted by its narrator align very closely with the biography of James I, who was also captured at sea and spent eighteen years of his minority in captivity at the English court. The poem's particular focus on marriage as a catalyst to restored happiness and secured freedom reflects James's own marriage to Joan Beaufort, and their return to Scotland in May 1424. James's royal authority is articulated clearly through his engagement with three principal literary traditions: by challenging and subverting standard expectations, James is able to inflect his poem towards his own Scottish agenda and context.

The narrator's '[w]aking, / New partit out of slepe' (2.9–10, p. 3), prompted by reading Boethius, very probably created the expectation in contemporary readers that a dream with a Boethian theme or tenor would ensue, in

7 John T.T. Brown, *The Authorship of the Kingis Quair: A New Criticism* (Glasgow, 1896).

8 The manuscript anthology was commissioned by Henry 3rd Lord Sinclair, a leading magnate whose grandmother was James I's sister, and whose grandfather, the Duke of Orkney, escorted James I when he was captured by the English in 1406. See Joanna Summers, *Late Medieval Prison Writing and the Politics of Autobiography* (Oxford, 2004), p. 63. For further recent discussion of this manuscript, see A.S.G. Edwards, 'Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden. B. 24: A "Transitional" Collection', in Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (eds), *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), pp. 53–67; Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, 'Bodleian MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and the "Scotticization" of Middle English Verse', in Thomas A. Prendergast and Barbara Kline (eds), *Rewriting Chaucer: Culture, Authority, and the Idea of the Authentic Text, 1400–1602* (Columbus, OH, 1999), pp. 166–85; Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, 'Bodleian MS Arch. Selden. B. 24: The Genesis and Evolution of a Scottish Poetical Anthology', in Sally Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 14–29; Kylie Murray, 'Passing the Book: the Scottish Shaping of Chaucer's Dream States in Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24', in Katherine Terrell and Mark P. Bruce (eds), *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600* (New York and London, 2012), pp. 121–39.

9 The second of the manuscript's two scribes concludes the poem with the explicit '*Iacobus primus scotorum rex illustrissimus*' (fol. 211r). The later reader adds at the poem's opening 'Heirefter followis the quair maid be/king James of Scotland the first/callit the kingis quair and/Maid quhen his Maiestie wes in/England' (fol. 191v).

10 For a summary of the authorship debate, see Sally Mapstone, 'Kingship and the *Kingis Quair*', in Sally Mapstone and Helen Cooper (eds), *The Long Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 52–69.

accordance with the sequence of reading and dreaming in Chaucer's work.¹¹ Instead, James's continued insomnia and nocturnal recollection, including how he ruminates on his earlier imprisonment 'the long[e] dayes and the nyghtis eke' (29.197, p. 9), shifts away from Chaucerian expectation and aligns the Scottish king with the tradition of the attentive, vigilant ruler. Recurrent portrayals in scriptural, classical and Carolingian writings characterised watchful rulers as most active by night, while sleep was associated with corrupt, slothful or indifferent governance.¹² Suetonius, for example, deployed sleep and dream as barometers of effective rule among the twelve Caesars, and Charlemagne conducted statecraft in his bedchamber at night.¹³

In addition to the circumstances of his Boethian reading, James's authority is focused yet more acutely by his engagement with the content of Boethius's *Consolation*. James's own Scottish politicisation of the *Consolation* intersects with Boethius's core argument that material trappings exile mankind from his spiritual homeland of felicity.¹⁴ Philosophy tells Boethius that his desire for worldly success has made him forget what his 'native country' is:

Sed tu quam procul a patria non quidem pulsus es sed aberrasti; ac sit te pulsum existimari mavis, te potius ipse pepulisti. Nam id quidem de te numquam cuiquam fas fuisset. Si enim cuius oriundus sis patriae reminiscare . . .

(*Consolation*, book I, prosa 5, lines 6–10, p. 162)¹⁵

For Philosophy, and Boethius, both 'patria' and exile are abstract contemplative and ethical states, not political territories. But James's reference to his own imprisonment 'out of my contree' (22.152, p. 8), complemented by his writing the *Kingis Quair* on the eve of his own repatriation imbues the homeland analogy with a Scottish context and resonance, while yet transforming James's biography into 'literary artefact' in a manner akin to Boethius.¹⁶

11 On the sequence of reading and dreaming in Chaucer's dream-poems, see: Piero Boitani, 'Old Books Brought to Life in Dreams: the *Book of the Duchess*, the *House of Fame*, the *Parliament of Fowls*', in Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Chaucer* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 58–77.

12 On early traditions of kings and sleep, see: Paul E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (London and Nebraska, 1994), pp. 5–22.

13 Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*, pp. 12–13.

14 John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford, 2003), p. 107.

15 Translation: 'But how far from your homeland have you strayed. Strayed, not been driven, I say; or if you prefer to be thought of as driven, then how far have you driven yourself! For in your case it could never have rightly been possible for anyone else to do this. You must remember what your native country is . . .' Quotation and translation are taken from Hugh F. Stewart, Edward K. Rand and S. Jim Tester (eds), *Boethius: The Theological Tractates; De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1973).

16 On the *Kingis Quair* as literary artefact: Elizabeth Elliott, 'The Open Sentence: Memory, Identity and Translation in the *Kingis Quair*', in Sarah Carpenter and Sarah M. Dunnigan (eds), *Joyous Sweet Imaginaioun': Essays on Scottish Literature in Honour of R.D.S. Jack* (Amsterdam and New York, 2007), pp. 23–40, at p. 24; Michael D. Cherriss, *Boethian Apocalypse: Studies in Middle English Vision Poetry* (Norman, OK, 1987), p. 194.

And in so doing, James politicises the hallmark European literary staple of the amatory captive. Contextualising his captivity within his own life's events, James shifts the focus from desire to wisdom and from hardship to growth, thus reframing positively the earlier adversity of his youth, positing himself as captive lover, a metaphor for subjection to love and desire. Amatory experience was the domain of kings, rulers and aristocrats, which poets (and poetic-narrators) could not claim to experience, but only reticently observe: Troilus, Palamon and Arcite are themselves of royal blood, but Chaucer's narrator, for example, never claims to have experienced love himself.¹⁷ The *Kingis Quair* subverts the standard portrayals of love's equivocal moral status in English and French courtly texts with the more optimistic allegory of falling in love as a catalyst to regeneration, freedom and maturity. It authorises James as both personal lover and public monarch:

My hert, my will, my nature, and my mynd,
Was changit clene ryght In an-othir kind.
(45.314–15, p. 13)

This pivotal moment of love at first sight, so central to amatory and courtly writing elsewhere, is recast in an ethical context. Describing the lady in explicitly visionary terms marks her out as distinct from earthly women, and instead gestures towards her ethical significance as part of James's assertion of renewed and restored Scottish royal rule. The focus on her 'array' (46.316, p. 13), rather than her body, partakes of the *ekphrasis per vestimentum* tradition, reserved for female figures from didactic visionary literature, especially in the Boethian and Chartrian traditions.¹⁸ The lady's identity as Queen Joan is alluded to in her bejewelled and crown-like 'chaplet' (46.321, p. 13), with its love-knots ('amorettis', 47.324, p. 13) and feathers resembling the jonette flower (326), repeatedly interpreted as a pun on Queen Joan's name.¹⁹ Although clearly a 'warldly creature' (51.352, p. 14), it is to her virtues and status, rather than her physical beauty, which James is most drawn:

Wisedome, largesse, estate, and connyng sure
In euery poynt so guydit hir mesure.
(50.347–8, p. 14)

Such a description deflects from James's sexual desire, towards the lady's moral significance as a possible 'reincarnation of Boethius's Philosophy, Venus and

17 See also Martin, *Kingship and Love*, pp. 23–4; A.C. Spearing, 'Dreams in *The Kingis Quair* and the *Duke's Book*', in Mary-Jo Arn (ed.), *Charles d'Orleans in England, 1415–1440* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 123–44, at p. 129.

18 Boethius's description of Philosophy aside, the *locus classicus* is Alanus de Lille's description of Natura in his *De Planctu Naturae* (c.1170s), a text clearly continuing the trajectory begun by Boethius' depiction of Philosophy.

19 The jonette pun is most recently noted in Julia Boffey (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century English Dream Visions* (Oxford, 2003), p. 110 n.

Nature, all rolled into one'.²⁰ Her dress positions her firmly in the allegorical tradition of *Natura* with its focus on chaste marriage, harmony and man's salvation, a tradition apparent in James's question, 'ar ye verray nature the goddesse?' (43.297, p. 13).

James's autonomy and authority over literary traditions are magnified in the poem's treatment of the dream. His encounter with the three classical goddesses, Venus, Minerva and Fortune, furthers the ethical and political agenda of the text, while illustrating how the poem encompasses numerous visionary episodes of a more religious, divinely inspired import. These voice James's authority over matters both secular and ecclesiastical in the Scottish kingdom, following his eighteen-year absence.

As the poem progresses, James challenges dream convention still further. McDiarmid's classification of the *Kingis Quair* as 'a series of visions'²¹ is a more fitting description, and reflects how the poem differs from near contemporary English dream poetry. The posture of protracted kneeling at a window 'still as any stone' (72.503, p. 19) radically differs from an amatory dreamer lying supine in bed, as was so integral to dream-vision writing elsewhere in this period. While nocturnal settings hint towards a dream, the dominant impression here is of a religious, mystical pose. The light which commences the dream vividly evokes mystical illumination, and James's descriptions of physical movement and cosmic ascent suggest somatic, external experience which undercut dream and instead bespeak a more mystical tenor. The voice which tells him 'I bring the confort and hele, be noght affrayde' (74.518, p. 20) inevitably recalls the New Testament contexts where this exhortation introduces divine communication.²²

The dream's celestial topography also suggests divine provenance, and Minerva's sphere being above Venus' reflects the political and ethical prominence suffusing the *Kingis Quair*. Indeed, James has deeper affinities with Minerva's 'court riall, noble, and benigne' (125.875, p. 31; my italics); whereas Venus's court needed clarification for James, and he even remained disinterested in the acutely apposite royal writers who seem to curiously mirror his status and actions, the 'princis . . . In mynd of quhom ar maid the bukis newe' (85.591–2, p. 22). Antithetically, Minerva's court is a place of familiarity for James. She repeatedly addresses him as 'son' (127.884, p. 32; 128.896, p. 32; 142.990, p. 35; 149.1040,

20 Alessandra Petrina, 'Donne Gentili and Courtly Ladies: A Comparison Between Dante's Beatrice and the Lady of the *Kingis Quair*', in Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature*, pp. 30–38, at p. 33. The lady is relatively neglected, although see Michael R.G. Spiller, 'The Donna Angelicata in *The Kingis Quair*', in Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher (eds), *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance. Fourth International Conference: Proceedings* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), pp. 217–27. Carl E. Bain, 'A Valentine for Queen Joanne', *Emory University Quarterly*, 17, (1964): pp. 232–43, suggests that the poem was dedicated to Joan.

21 Matthew McDiarmid, 'Scottish Love Poetry Pre-1600: A Character and Appreciation', in Strauss and Drescher (eds), *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*, pp. 443–50 at p. 445.

22 The words were spoken at the Annunciation (Luke 1:30) and Resurrection (an angel in Matthew 28:5, Christ in Matthew 28:10).

p. 37), casting him in her likeness, implying that as he develops, he, too, will be characterised by Wisdom. Indeed, Minerva's advice facilitates James's upturn in amatory and political fortune, making explicit the necessity for virtue and wisdom in securing requited love, and quoting the need for patience from Ecclesiastes 3:1 'All thing has tyme' (133.925, p. 33). Her agreement to support James if his love is 'ground and set in cristin wise' (142.989, p. 35) is unprecedented, but is especially apposite to James because it encompasses his political role as ruler, in addition to his personal identity as lover: 'Tak him before In *all thy gouernance*' (130.904, p. 32; my italics).²³ Although Minerva is a classical goddess, her advice is indisputably Christian, illustrating James's learning on the one hand and his virtue on the other.

James's intellectual and royal authority was most fully realised in his meeting with Fortune, the goddess who can effect his release and marriage. This scene's focus is not Fortune's power, but James's. His request: 'Help now my game, that is in point to mate' (168.1176, p. 41), is more of an exhortation. His ability to appear deferential while actually ensuring Fortune recognises his authority and ultimately obeys it is a pertinent demonstration of kingly empowerment through prudence. As Martin notes perceptively, after Fortune lifts James onto her wheel, James's agency is clear when he takes the first step of his ascent unassisted (171.1193, p. 42).²⁴ Fortune expresses optimism for James's future, even while referring to previous adversity, including his 'retrograde' beginning (170.1188, p. 42), and how half his life has elapsed. Her point is that he can *now* enter a new stage of life and beneficent fortune:

... for thy tyme,
 Ane houre and more It rynnys ouer prime;
 To count the hole, the half is nere away;
 Spend wele, therefore, the remanant of the day.
 (171.1194–7, p. 42)

This sequence engages readily with the iconography of Fortune and her wheel, ubiquitous in the Boethian manuscript tradition. James here contrasts with English-associated royal dreamers such as Troilus and King Arthur, whose ominous dreams, especially of Fortune and her wheel in Arthur's case, belong in the *de casibus* tradition.²⁵ But instead of advocating a *contemptus mundi* philosophy,

23 On James as king of love and king of Scots, see: Martin, *Kingship and Love*, pp. 19–40; Mapstone, 'Kingship and the *Kingis Quair*', pp. 52–3.

24 Martin, *Kingship and Love*, p. 25. See also Mapstone, 'Kingship and the *Kingis Quair*', p. 58.

25 Joanna Martin, 'Translations of Fortune: James I's *Kingis Quair* and the Re-reading of Lancastrian Poetry', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *Lange Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375–1650* (Amsterdam and New York, 2007), pp. 43–60, at pp. 48–50, contextualises English *de casibus* poetry. The most contemporaneous English Arthurian text for James was the northern alliterative *Morte Arthure* (c.1400), which involved an extensive dream sequence where Arthur is hurled by Fortune from her wheel.

James is willing to return to his kingdom to assume his rule, with a renewed and refreshed understanding of the world and his place in it. In this Scottish context, climbing the wheel affirms James's ripeness for rule: as Elliott notes, the act marks James's 'willingness to pursue his worldly duties . . . despite the threat of personal loss'.²⁶

In an arresting departure from dream convention, James makes a sophisticated gesture towards foregrounding the historical context of the poem by having his narrator pray for an external validation or 'takenyng' (176.1229–31, p. 43) of the dream's accuracy and veracity. The resulting turtle dove which meets James with a branch of gillyflowers and an inscribed message (177.1235 ff., p. 43) shares multiple significations of betrothal and marriage. '[V]pon my hand gan lyght' (177.1236, p. 43) could suggest Joan's agreement to marry James, and the dove, bearing a branch, was also a symbol of divine approval for the marriage between Joseph and the Virgin Mary.²⁷ These scriptural resonances impute divine authority and approval upon James's kingship, positing it as an amatory, political and ethical entity upon which James's regeneration of the Stewart dynasty can be founded, after a turbulent minority and a prolonged absence from the realm. The bird's presence creates structural symmetry by directly mirroring the nightingale at the same window prior to James's vision (33.226, p. 10 ff.). It evokes again the Annunciation and mystical experience first suggested by James's kneeling posture at the window immediately before his visionary experience.²⁸ Framed by the two avian encounters, both James's inset waking love-vision and subsequent dream-vision are framed as *loci* for optimistic transition from Chaucerian, erotic and equivocal love, to a distinctly positive amatory experience with ethical and political overtones. Spiritual consciousness displaces sexual desire articulated in the nightingale's 'cantus' about waking lovers in May-time while yet consolidating James's identity as divinely sanctioned lover:

Awak! awake! I bring, lufar, I bring
The newis glad . . .
For In the hevyn decretit is the cure.
(179.1247–8, 1251, p. 44)

26 Elliott, 'Open Sentence', p. 39.

27 William F. Quinn, 'Red Lining and Blue Pencilling in the *Kingis Quair*', *Studies in Philology*, 108 (2011): pp. 188–214, at p. 205, discusses the marital connotations of the semantics in this stanza. Spiller, 'Donna Angelicata', p. 224, notes that the gillyflower's formal name, 'Cheiranthus', means 'flower of the hand' (Greek etymology), linking both human and divine love.

28 The dove was an agent of divine power, both as a manifestation of the Holy Spirit (for example, the Annunciation) and as a symbol of peace (when appearing to Noah), as also noted by Karin Fuog, 'Placing Earth at the Center of the Cosmos: *The Kingis Quair* as Boethian Revision', *SSL*, 32 (2001): pp. 140–49, at p. 148. The turtle dove also symbolised marital love and faithfulness, as it would only ever seek one mate: Alessandra Petrina, 'Some Dream-Related Images in the *Kingis Quair*', *Studi Medievali*, 35 (1994): pp. 307–16, at pp. 313–14; Carl E. Bain, 'The Nightingale and the Dove in *The Kingis Quair*', *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 9 (1964): pp. 19–29.

Mapstone's identification of a possible intertextual allusion to the *Kingis Quair's* three deities suggests a persuasive late fifteenth-century attribution of the poem to James. A later recension of Bower's *Scotichronicon*, copied by the Perth Carthusian monk Patrick Russell,²⁹ features an epitaph lamenting James's death by addressing Venus, Minerva and Fortune in the same order as their appearance in the poem, and it also apostrophises the king as a '*cultor amoris*' ('devotee of love').³⁰ Scotland's only Charterhouse, which was founded and endowed by James himself, provides further evidence, previously overlooked, of the *Kingis Quair's* royal authorship. The extant impressions of Perth Charterhouse's documentary seal matrix portrays a figure adjacent to a large crown, suggestive of royal identity, kneeling before a vision of Mary being crowned Queen of Heaven, an allusion applied to Venus at the *Kingis Quair's* structural centre, or sovereign mid-point (see Figures 12.1 to 12.3).³¹ At the heart of the poem, James asks Venus to act 'by vertew pure' (99.690, p. 25) as intercessor in requiting his love, and addresses her using Marian imagery: 'Hye quene of lufe! sterre of beneuolence!' (99.687, p. 25), 'blisfull havin . . . O anker and keye of oure gude auenture' (100.697–8, p. 26). The seal also features a scroll above the visionary, which is reaching down towards him, in a possible evocation of the inscribed gillyflower brought down to James after he wakes from his vision in the *Quair*. This seal could, therefore, be a visual



Figure 12.1 The Perth Carthusian Seal of 1488, as portrayed in Henry Laing, *Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals Royal, Baronial, Ecclesiastical, and Municipal Embracing the Period from A.D. 1150 to the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1866), p. 207, no. 1173. See plate section

29 Now found in the National Library, Edinburgh: NLS, MS Adv. 35.6.7, c.1480.

30 Sally Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon's* First Readers', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland. Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 31–56, at pp. 35, 48 n. 29; Martin, *Kingship and Love*, p. 20 n. 3.

31 On the sovereign mid-point's ubiquity in art, architecture and literature, see Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge, 1970). A.C. Spearing, 'Central and Displaced Sovereignty in Three Medieval Poems', *RES*, n.s. 131 (1982): pp. 247–61, argues for valid sovereign mid-point readings in another fifteenth-century Scottish text, Henryson's *Fables*. I take stanzas 98–9 together as the *Kingis Quair's* sovereign mid-point as the poem is 197 stanzas long.



Figure 12.2 National Records of Scotland, GD112/2/77/1: Charter of David Symonton to Donald Macande concerning land in Killin, November 1488. See plate section

commemoration of the *Kingis Quair*,³² allowing the Perth Carthusians to commemorate James as their founder through visual reference to his most celebrated literary achievement, the *Kingis Quair*. The mystical, visionary composition of the seal is entirely in keeping with the especial Carthusian interest in mysticism and visionary writings, and the mystical tenor of the poem itself. A continuation of James I's engagement with mystical writing and states is apparent in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, produced after James I's death, and in the minority of James II. It is to this text we next turn.

Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*

As abbot of Inchcolm, Bower was considered an ecclesiastical magnate,³³ 'a player on the Scottish political stage during and after the reign of James I'.³⁴

He was actively involved in James I's parliaments: he co-ordinated tax collections in 1424, 1431 and 1433;³⁵ participated in debates on pro-English policy, which he opposed;³⁶ and in 1435, was a member of James's judicial committee.³⁷ Whilst not ranking among the most politically engaged magnates,³⁸ Bower's patron, David Stewart of Rosyth, had been knighted at James I's coronation ceremony in 1424, was part of the king's

32 A full account of the seal and its significance is to be found in my forthcoming article on new evidence of the *Kingis Quair*'s authorship and reception.

33 D.E.R. Watt, 'A National Treasure? The *Scotichronicon* of Walter Bower', *SHR*, 76 (1997): pp. 44–53, at p. 44.

34 Michael Brown, "'Vile Times": Walter Bower's Last Book and the Minority of James II', *SHR*, 79 (2000): pp. 165–88 (167).

35 Katie Stevenson, "'Recreations to Refresh the Spirits of His Followers": Walter Bower's Revelations on Cultural Pursuits at James I of Scotland's Court', *Recherches Anglaises et Nord-Américaines*, 40 (2007): pp. 9–23; Brown, 'Vile Times', p. 170; Roland Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424–1488* (East Linton, 2001), p. 22.

36 Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306–1469* (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 57.

37 Brown, 'Vile Times', p. 170.

38 Alan Borthwick, 'Bower's Patron, Sir David Stewart of Rosyth', in *Chron. Bower*, vol. ix, pp. 354–62, at p. 357.

entourage in the early 1430s³⁹ and remained loyal to Queen Joan's faction after James's assassination in 1437.⁴⁰ As an active member of James's court, Bower was also privy to the cultural interests of the king, including philosophy, education and literature.⁴¹ Bower does not name the *Kingis Quair*, but his sustained presence at James's court make his first-hand knowledge of James's poem very likely: he records a Latin couplet composed by James on the arrest and execution of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, in the late 1420s (XVI.15.27–8, viii, p. 258), and the king's enthusiasm for '*operi artis literatorie et scripture*' (XVI.30.4, viii, p. 308).⁴²



Figure 12.3 Three Carthusian seals from the Breadalbane Charters. From left to right, National Records of Scotland, GD112/2/18/4 (1474); GD112/2/77/1 (1488); GD112/2/45/2/1 (1551). See plate section

There exist further correspondences between the two texts which could further support royal authorship of the *Kingis Quair*, and continuity between the literary tastes at the court of James I and James II. Themes and imagery from the *Kingis Quair* are recapitulated, for example, in James I's 1425 'good letter', preserved uniquely in Bower's *Scotichronicon* (XVI.32) and probably from a copy addressed explicitly to Bower as Augustinian abbot of Inchcolm, since James purportedly sent the letter to all Benedictine and Augustinian prelates in the Scottish kingdom. In condemning the decay and corruption of religious life in Scotland, James greets the prelates with good wishes for '*ad perfectionis sublimiora conscendere incrementa*' (XVI.32.3–4, viii, p. 316),⁴³ and describes the perils of insufficient discipline with the *Kingis Quair*'s Boethian imagery of a steerless rudder and shipwreck: '*gubernaculum discipline contempnitur . . . religio naufragetur*' (XVI.32.36–7, viii, p. 318).⁴⁴ The association of James with the language of mystical ascent and Boethianism is immediately apparent in the letter, but Bower's account of James's Carthusian foundation at Perth in 1429, and his tribute to the Carthusian Order are also explicit in connecting the king with visionary and contemplative states.

After the account from Peter, abbot of Cluny, of a lawyer who wanted to leave the order within a year of becoming a Carthusian novice, and who then

39 *Chron. Bower*, XVI.10.9, viii, p. 242; Brown, 'Vile Times', pp. 175–6; Borthwick, 'Bower's Patron', p. 357.

40 Brown, 'Vile Times', p. 177.

41 Stevenson, 'Bower's Revelations', pp. 12–16.

42 See more recently Stevenson, 'Bower's Revelations', pp. 12–15; Mapstone, 'Kingship and the *Kingis Quair*', pp. 57, 67–8.

43 Translation: 'an ascent to the highest reaches of perfection'.

44 Translation: '[If] the rudder of discipline is despised . . . religious life is destroyed'.

had an angelic vision which instructed him to remain with the Carthusians (XVI.19.41–6, viii, p. 274), Bower includes proverbial verses which describe the Carthusians' asceticism with imagery of providence, ascent and sleep:⁴⁵

In cella stabiles nil formidare tenentur;
 nam celi vigiles hos vallant atque tuentur.
 Hos faciunt fortes quos reddit cella gravatos.
 Dum *sompnum* capiunt, tollunt super astra beatos.
 Qui tibi dat dorsum te deserit, atque retrorsum
 mortuus introrsum cadit in tormenta deorsum.
 Nulli namque datur quod sub cella moriatur,
 si non salvari meruit [sursum-]que beari.
 Hoc sonat inclusa Cartusia quod caro tusa.
 (XVI.19.47–55, viii. p. 274; author's emphasis)

[In a monastic cell men of constancy are understood to fear nothing;
 for the watchmen of heaven defend and protect them.
 They make strong men of those to whom the cell brings affliction.
 They convey the blessed ones above the stars while they sleep.
 Anyone who turns his back on you deserts you, and
 being inwardly dead falls back into the torments below.
 For to no-one is it given to die within a cell
 if he does not deserve to be saved and blessed on high.
 The enclosed Charterhouse re-echoes the sound of beaten flesh.]

Bower inserts this account not as a testament to Carthusian devotion, but to James's exemplarity:

*Hec de Cartusiensibus suffic[iant] ad declarandum devocionem regis hunc ordinem
 in Scociam adducentis*
 (XVI.19.56–7, viii, p. 274)

[These details about the Carthusians are enough to make clear the
 devotion of the king who brought this order to Scotland.]

Unlike the more shadowy material evidence of the *Kingis Quair's* circulation, the *Scotichronicon* is one of the best attested and documented works of this period

45 As stated in *Chron. Bower*, vol. viii, p. 369, nn. 57–65, these lines are listed in Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge Mittel-lateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen, 1959), 8843a, and Hans Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in Alphabetischer Anordnung* (Göttingen, 1963–69), 11696, where they are recorded as existing in Bower and another unidentified MS. It is possible that these lines originated in Scotland, or with Bower himself.

in terms of its transmission and reception,⁴⁶ with numerous owners and communities already identified as reading Bower's work across the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. William Scheves (d.1497), royal physician and leading figure in Scottish ecclesiastical and political culture, commissioned a copy of Bower's work: MS H was produced for him by his household clerk, Magnus Makculloch. In addition to owning the *Kingis Quair's* unique extant witness, the Arch. Selden. MS, discussed above, the Sinclair family was in possession of four separate *Scotichronicon* witnesses, although admittedly the evidence for their reading of Bower comes later, in the sixteenth century, when the inscriptions of William Sinclair (d.c.1580–85) are found in MSS C, B, D and H, thus suggesting that these texts could have each been regarded as an independent work.⁴⁷ The Cistercian house at Coupar Angus was involved in the creation of an abbreviated *Scotichronicon* text, now MS CA, possibly begun during Bower's lifetime in the mid-1440s. As we have also seen above, the Carthusians at Perth likewise in this period produced their own recension of Bower's work, now MS P, which also introduced new material in the form of the epitaph to James I which alludes to his authorship of the *Kingis Quair*. It is likely, given the possibility of their detailed knowledge of the *Kingis Quair*, that the Carthusian library's holdings would have included both James's poem and Bower's chronicle: a pairing most probably shared at some stage by the Sinclair family's collection of books. There is, then, ample evidence that this work, which we must remember was dedicated to James II 'very much amongst others',⁴⁸ was a key transmitter, into and beyond the reign of James II, of that royal Scottish visionary authority first articulated by James I.

Lancelot of the Laik

Further evidence of a specific interest in dream states in fifteenth-century Scotland, and plausibly during the reign of James II, can also be found in the Older Scots romance, *Lancelot of the Laik*. A dream prologue is added to this Older Scots redaction of the thirteenth-century French prose *Lancelot do Lac* (c.1215–30) which began as an independent, non-cyclic romance, but later was absorbed into the substantial *Lancelot-Grail*, or *Vulgate* cycle.⁴⁹ Whether or not the Scottish poet

46 Full text witnesses and their sigla are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 (c.1440s, MS C); Darnaway Castle, Forres (1471–72, MS D); BL, MS Royal 13 E.X (1447x55, MS R); NRS, MS GD 45/26/48 (1480–81, MS B); BL, MS Harley 712 (1496–97, MS H); EUL, MS 186 (1510, MS E). Abbreviated manuscripts and sigla are: NLS, Adv. MS 35.1.7 (c.1445–80, MS CA); SCA, MS MM2/1 (c.1509, MS FF); NLS, Adv. MS 35.6.7 (c.1480, MS P); BL, MS Harley 4764 (1497x1515, MS FE). For itemisation of these sigla, details of the recensions and their variations, see D.E.R. Watt, 'The Manuscripts', in *Chron. Bower*, vol. ix, pp. 148–203 and Mapstone, 'Scotichronicon's First Readers'.

47 Mapstone, 'Scotichronicon's First Readers', p. 36.

48 Mapstone, 'Kingship in Bower', p. 321.

49 The French text was not divided into books. On the French textual history see: *Lancelot do Lac: The Non-Cyclic Old French Romance*, (ed.) Elspeth Kennedy (2 volumes, Oxford, 1980), vol. ii, pp. 1–59.

knew *Lancelot do Lac* in isolation, the entire *Lancelot* cycle, or indeed, both, only a minute episode of Lancelot's biography is narrated, suggesting a concerted effort to emphasise the role of dream in this Scottish response to the French romance. The Scottish poet explicitly highlights his own agenda through his *occupatio*-style summary of what he will not discuss in the ensuing romance which he divides up into three books (as the incomplete text currently survives).⁵⁰ There is uncertainty surrounding the date of this poem. However, there is some evidence to suggest that *Lancelot* could be an early response to the *Kingis Quair*, in Roderick Lyall's assessment of the poem as 'pre-1460 work and possibly as early as the second quarter of the century'.⁵¹ According to Mapstone, Lyall also argues that 'orthographic differences between the prologue and the rest of the poem show that the former is a late-fifteenth century addition'.⁵² Some identify the poem as a product of the 1480s or later, assuming the date of *Lancelot*'s composition and its manuscript are the same.⁵³ Irrespective of date, *Lancelot* subscribes fully to both the *Kingis Quair*'s positive way of seeing and its consideration of love in an ethical and political framework, mediated by dream. *Lancelot*'s entirely original dream-prologue furthers the *Kingis Quair*'s meta-textuality by purporting to tell the story of its own composition.

I would suggest the possibility that *Lancelot*'s narrator is Scotland's earliest known dream-poet after James I, following the royal poem closely. Both James and the *Lancelot* poet explicitly state and recount their direct amatory experience through lovesickness. The prologue's *chanson d'aventure* setting and references to 'lovis observans' (1.16) are standard features of amatory poetry and prologues. However, its numerous textual details mirroring the *Kingis Quair* suggest that *Lancelot* was designed, in part if not in whole, as a response to James's text: the *Lancelot* narrator and James contemplate love's sorrow in almost identical lexis and imagery. *Lancelot*'s phrase, 'in my saull Rolinge al my wo' (2.27) compares with James's '[i]n my mynd rolling' (*Kingis Quair*, 8.54, p. 4) and 'thoughtis rolling

50 For suggestions as to how the text originally ended, especially following clues from the prologue, and given that the text was not divided into books in the French, see Martin, *Kingship and Love*, pp. 41–62; Elizabeth Archibald, 'Lancelot of the Laik: Genre, Sources, Reception', in Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (eds), *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 71–82, at pp. 79–80.

51 Lyall's hypothesis remains unpublished, but is reported by Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature 1450–1500' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 1986), p. 144; Mapstone, 'Court Literature', p. 419, n. 37; Sally Mapstone, 'The Scots, the French and the English: An Arthurian Episode', in Graham Caie, Roderick J. Lyall, Sally Mapstone and Kenneth Simpson (eds), *The European Sun: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature* (East Linton, 2001), pp. 129–44, at p. 135, n. 19. *Lancelot*'s sole manuscript witness, Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.1.5 (part vii) dates to 1484–90 according to Lyall's examination of the paper's watermarks: Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', pp. 144–54.

52 Mapstone, 'Advice to Princes', p. 144.

53 Janet M. Smith, *The French Background of Middle Scots Literature* (Edinburgh, 1934); *DOST* dates the text to 1500; Mapstone suggests c.1450–80, between Hay's *Buke of the Governauce of Princes* (1456) and Harry's *Wallace* (late 1470s); see Mapstone, 'Arthurian Episode', pp. 136–7.

to and fro' (*Kingis Quair*, 10.64, p. 5). Much more fundamentally, both narrators experience a dream which distinctively transforms their gloomy amatory situation. Both thematically and linguistically, the narrator's entry into a dream state locates *Lancelot* firmly in the Scottish poetics begun by the *Kingis Quair*:

Of thocht my gost with torment occupy,
That I became In to one exasy,
Ore slep, or how I wot; bot so befell
My wo haith done my livis gost expell,
And in sich wiss weil long I can endwr;
(*Lancelot*, 3.75–9)

Descriptions of a restless 'gost' (*Lancelot*, 3.75, 3.78, 6.172, 13.403, 30.1009, 31.1031) are associated with the dreams of the narrator, and later in the text, King Arthur and Lancelot. Both *Lancelot* and the *Kingis Quair* apply the term to the dreaming-waking boundary, as James's apostrophe to his own 'besy gost' on waking illustrates (*Kingis Quair*, 173.1205, p. 42). *Lancelot*'s dream-prologue shares the *Kingis Quair*'s positive view of love as ennobling and empowering when handled correctly, and mediates this optimism through multiple dream evocations. James's summation of his experiences as 'blisfull aenture' (*Kingis Quair*, 193.1349, p. 47) is complemented by *Lancelot*'s 'wondir aventur' (*Lancelot*, 3.80). Both works transcend the traumatic, damaging experience of love we see emerging in later Scottish works. In *Lancelot*, as in the *Kingis Quair* before it, amatory regeneration begins with dream states for the narrator, Arthur and Lancelot.

The narrator's dream opens with a green bird descending to the dreamer to convey a message from the God of Love and to introduce a meta-textual theme by alerting us to the correspondence of amatory desire and literary creativity. The bird explains how the dreamer's service to Love is too passive, causing the God's disapproval that 'yhoue . . . schapith no thinge of thine awn remede' (*Lancelot*, 4.87–9). As we saw above, a principal strand of the *Kingis Quair*'s advisory agenda was in advocating personal agency, and urging James to 'schape remede' (*Kingis Quair*, 69.483, p. 19; 102.712, p. 26; 138.966, p. 34). But, additionally, 'Remede' itself evokes Ovid's foundational and ubiquitous amatory work, the *Remedia Amoris*, to which *Lancelot*'s bird later refers (4.107–10), before advising the dreamer that the 'cwre' for his own amatory predicament lies in applying agency through the act of writing:⁵⁴

Complen and sek of the ramed, the cwre;
Ore, gif yhow likith, furth thi wo endure.
(*Lancelot*, 4.117–18)

54 Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* was profoundly influential upon amatory literature of the Middle Ages, including seminal visionary states, such as the *Roman de la Rose*, Capellanus's *De Amore* and Alanus de Insulis's *De Planctu Naturae*.

The bird thus fuses amatory experience to Ovid's reading and the dreamer's writing. This fusion foregrounds the meta-textual quality so prominent in amatory literature, including Ovid's own.

The bird and the dream thus console by teaching the narrator a lesson in self-governance, which foreshadows Arthur's and Amytans's dialogue in book II, and Lancelot's amatory experiences in books I and III.⁵⁵ The green bird's descent to the dreamer mirrors the *Kingis Quair's* turtle dove: both birds bring news of an impending upturn in fortune for the dreamer, resulting from increased awareness of self-governance's centrality to love. Moreover, the bird's courtly description of the lady's 'estat' and 'uisdome' (*Lancelot*, 5.129–30) is virtually identical to the description in the *Kingis Quair*.⁵⁶ Both birds are associated with textual compositions, although the *Kingis Quair's* bird silently transmits a written text to James on a scroll, whereas *Lancelot's* bird provides spoken guidance about producing a text, including the specific type of writing:

Sum trety schall yhoue for yi lady sak,
 That wnkouth is, als tak one hand and mak,
 Of love, ore armys, or of sum othir thing,
 That may hir oneto thi Remembryng brynge;
 . . . And mak thiself als mery as yhoue may;
 It helpith not thus fore to wex alway.
 (*Lancelot*, 5.145–9, 155–6)

'Trety' reiterates poetry's role as a moral tool which might resolve the lover's sorrow: for although it can simply mean literary work, 'trety' could equally denote negotiation or peace-making in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ This optimistic quality, one of the most distinctive features of the *Kingis Quair* against the backdrop of the more 'troubled world view' common in the fifteenth century,⁵⁸ also applies to *Lancelot* in equal measure.

55 Martin, *Kingship and Love*, p. 42, also observes how the prologue rehearses key themes of the later romance including service and governance.

56 Compare the *Kingis Quair*, 50.347, p. 14; 109.760, p. 28.

57 *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, [http://www.dsl.ac.uk, consulted 1 December 2013], cites several examples of this usage, including *The Bruce* (c.1375), XI.34–5; *The Scottish Troy Book*, (c.1400–20), fragment II, line 36; Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (c.1408–20), V.2193 and the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour* (c.1460–99), line 2936. For editions: *The Bruce, or the Book of the Most Excellent and Noble Prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots*, (ed.) Walter W. Skeat, STS 1st ser. 31, 32, 33 (2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1894), i, p. 272; *The Scottish Troy Book*, in *Barbour's Des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung: Nebst Den Fragmenten Seines Trojanerkerrieges*, (ed.) Carl Horstmann (2 vols, Heilbronn, 1881–82), ii, p. 236; *Chron. Wyntoun*, iii, p. 369 (Cottonian recension); *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour by Sir Gilbert Hay*, (ed.) John Cartwright, STS 4th ser. 16, 18 (2 vols [only ii and iii printed], Edinburgh and Aberdeen, 1986–90), ii, p. 75.

58 Mapstone, 'Kingship and the *Kingis Quair*', p. 54; David Lawton, 'Dullness and the Fifteenth Century', *ELH*, 54 (1987): pp. 76–99.

The restorative tenor of the courtly and advisory mode established by the *Kingis Quair* generates another post-James I Scottish response in the octo-syllabic *Buik of Alexander* (1438),⁵⁹ an approximate contemporary of *Lancelot*, but one which decisively and conclusively dates to the minority of James II.⁶⁰ The prologue opening of the *Buik of Alexander*'s 'Avowis of Alexander' section shares with *Lancelot* a *chanson d'aventure* setting, and a lovesick, sorrowful narrator, who wanders through a garden looking at flowers.⁶¹ Just like *Lancelot*'s narrator, the *Buik of Alexander*'s narrator makes the transition from amatory pessimism, 'all is set in vane' (ii.107.18) to the act of writing as a means of resolving lovesickness:

To get lessing of my torment
For to translait in inglis leid
Ane remains quhilk that I hard reid,
Of amourus, armis and of droury,
Of knight-heid and of cheualry.
(ii.107.20–24)

Although not explicitly a dream, this *Buik of Alexander* prologue, like *Lancelot*'s, focuses on ameliorating lovesickness into a demonstration of recovery, improvement and an impetus for literary creativity. The *Buik of Alexander*'s prologue could read as a precursor or contemporary of *Lancelot*'s, pointing to a shared genealogy of these two romances as descendants of the *Kingis Quair*,⁶² and continuations of James's preoccupation with Boethius's simultaneous misfortune and agency in overcoming adversity: 'the writing of this noble man /That in him-self the *full recouer* wan' (*Kingis Quair*, 5.32–3, p. 4; author's italics).

Lancelot's narrator seems alert to this Boethian significance in the prologue's encomium to the un-named 'most conpilour . . . [f]lour of poyetis' (*Lancelot*,

59 *Buik of Alexander* quotation comes from *The Buik of Alexander*, (ed.) Robert L.G. Ritchie, STS 2nd ser. 12, 17, 21, 25 (4 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1921–29), giving volume, page and line number. The *Buik of Alexander* survives uniquely in a 1580 print but, according to its colophon, was originally composed in 1438. The poem's textual history receives the fullest attention in Emily Wingfield, 'The Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance' (Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 2010), pp. 23–60 and Emily Wingfield, 'The Late Sixteenth-Century Reception and Publication of the Older Scots *Buik of Alexander* ("Octosyllabic Alexander")', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 58 (2011): pp. 210–16.

60 Like *Lancelot*, this romance is translated from earlier French prose to Older Scots verse, and, although the dating of *Lancelot* cannot be confirmed, it seems likely that these texts were contemporaries of some sort, given their generic, formal and thematic affinities.

61 The parallel is noted so far, but not explored, by Ritchie: *Buik of Alexander*, vol. 2, p. lxii; Archibald, 'Genre, Sources, Reception', p. 75.

62 Mapstone observes the *Buik of Alexander*'s 'continuity of interest from the *Kingis Quair*': see Sally Mapstone, 'Older Scots Literature and the Court', in Ian Brown, Thomas O. Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume 1: From Columba to the Union (Until 1707)* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 273–86, at p. 276.

10.319–20) who produces ‘fresch enditing of his laiting tounge’ (*Lancelot*, 10.327) and ‘suet poetry’ (*Lancelot*, 10.331). In addition to – or perhaps, instead of – the ‘Chaucerian tease’ posited by Archibald,⁶³ the lexis is virtually identical to the *Kingis Quair*’s account of Boethius, where the *auctor* is ‘compiloure’ (*Kingis Quair*, 3.16, p. 1), ‘warldis floure’ (*Kingis Quair*, 3.19, p. 3), and ‘Enditing in his faire latyne tong, / So full of fruyte, and rethorikly pykit’, (*Kingis Quair*, 7.44–5, p. 2). Although the authorship of *Lancelot* is at present unknown, it is plausible that the *Kingis Quair* and the court of James I or James II formed the point of origin for this text, perhaps by a relative or royal associate who knew James’s poem very well.⁶⁴ This sort of context would align well with Kratzmann’s suggestion that the encomium’s intended addressee is James I,⁶⁵ but also reiterates how partial and incomplete current understanding is of Scottish royal literary culture.

Yet, whether the addressee is James I or Boethius, *Lancelot*’s incisive recapitulation of the *Kingis Quair* is strongly suggestive of how James’s poetic statements of royal authority maintained currency. Moreover, a broader comparison of the *Kingis Quair* with the *Scotichronicon*, *Lancelot of the Laik* and the octosyllabic *Buik of Alexander* provides evidence of a lively literary culture which takes its lead very much from the court of James I; and, as this chapter has argued, that literary culture continues to thrive during the reign of James II and beyond.⁶⁶

63 Archibald, ‘Genre, Sources, Reception’, p. 75.

64 James’s daughter Eleanor (?1433–80) was already familiar enough with one romance, *Pontus und Sido-nia*, to translate it from French to German, albeit much later in the century, as Bawcutt and Henisch note in: ‘Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century: The Princesses Margaret, Isabella and Eleanor’, in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland, c. 1100–c. 1750* (East Linton, 1999), pp. 45–55. Eleanor, like James’s other literary daughters, Margaret (1424–45) and Isabella (?1427–95) married abroad and had no presence in Scotland after James’s murder in 1437. It is not impossible that someone from her circle could have translated into Scots the French *Lancelot do Lac*. According to Bawcutt and Henisch, Eleanor received a copy of a *buch des landlot* as a gift from Albrecht of Bavaria in 1478; Bawcutt and Henisch, ‘Scots Abroad’, p. 51.

65 Gregory Kratzmann, *Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations 1430–1550* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 232.

66 It is intriguing that the *Kingis Quair*, *Lancelot* and certain recensions of the *Scotichronicon* were all being copied during the reign of James IV, although these copies are not of royal provenance.

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13 James IV and Robert Carver

Music for the Armed Man

Jamie Reid-Baxter

We have no record of what glorious music was sung at the solemn high mass in Holyrood Abbey on Easter Sunday 1507, when King James IV of Scotland (r.1488–1513) was invested with what we know today as Scotland's Sword of State. But James's fondness for sacred music is a matter of record, as are his re-founding and lavish endowment of the Chapel Royal in 1501–03.¹ In the pages of history books, music tends to receive less coverage than the visual and verbal components of past ages and, as a result, the role of music in projecting royal authority is not always appreciated.² This chapter investigates the rich skein of relationships between the Sword of State and the mass settings *L'homme armé* and *Dum sacrum mysterium* made by cleric Robert Carver whose sumptuous works were composed for the virtuoso singers of Scotland's Chapel Royal.³

1 In his famous letter about James IV of 25 July 1498, the Spanish ambassador Pedro de Ayala noted 'He says all his prayers. Before transacting any business he hears two masses. After mass he has a cantata sung, during which he sometimes despatches very urgent business': *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Vol. I: 1485–1509*, (ed.) Gustave Adolph Bergenroth (London, 1862), no. 210. See also Charles Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882), pp. xxv–lii; Gordon J. Munro, 'Scottish Church Music and Musicians 1500–1700' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), pp. 19–30. For the importance of the Chapel Royal as a cultural and intellectual epicentre, see: Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Scottish Chapel Royal as a Cultural Intermediary between Town and Court', in Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 299–313; Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'Princely Culture in Scotland under James III and James IV', in Martin Gosman et al. (eds), *Princes and Princely Culture* (2 vols, Leiden, 2003), vol. i, pp. 147–72, at pp. 163–4.

2 An exception is Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2013), ch. 6, 'Sounds Celestial', pp. 134–50.; Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470–1625* (London, 1981), pp. 57–58, 187–90.

3 *Robert Carver: Complete Works and Two Anonymous Masses*, (ed.) Kenneth Elliott (Glasgow, 1996). The biographical speculation found in Isobel Woods Preece et al., *Our awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, (ed.) Sally Harper (Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), Part II 'Robert Carvor and the Carvor Choirbook', needs to be treated with extreme caution; see D. James Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993); Ross, 'Robert Carver, Canon of Scone: New Perspectives on the Scottish Renaissance Composer', and Alasdair A. MacDonald 'A Note on Robert Carver's Motet *O bone Jesu*', in Gordon Munro et al. (eds), *Notis musycall: Essays on Music and Scottish Culture in Honour of Kenneth Elliott* (Glasgow, 2005), pp. 94–114, 115–24.

The tune of the fifteenth-century Burgundian song *L'homme armé* was used as the basis of some forty extant polyphonic mass-settings between c.1458 and the 1570s.⁴ No other single melody can claim anything like this record.⁵ The tune and the masses based thereon continue to generate constantly evolving scholarly writing.⁶ The reasons for the 'unprecedented spirit of compositional one-upmanship' to which 'the catchy *L'homme armé* tune gave rise [are] fundamentally obscure'.⁷ But reasons there must have been, however protean and obscure. The Scotland of James IV may shed some light on (and even give some shape to) this obscurity.

The only extant (or even reported) *Missa L'homme armé* composed in the British Isles is an undated setting for four voices by Robert Carver (1485–d. after 1568), canon of the Augustinian abbey at Scone.⁸ Along with Carver's other known works, his *Missa L'homme armé* survives in the 'Carver Choir-book', which also contains one of the earliest, and probably very first, of the *L'homme armé* masses, namely that composed before 1462 by the renowned Netherlandish master, Guillaume Dufay (c.1397–1474). Dufay was closely associated at certain stages in his life with the Burgundian court and with its chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, founded in 1430 by Philip the Good (r.1419–67).⁹ The Order's statutes begin by stating that their central remit is to ensure that 'the true catholic faith, the estate of our mother Holy Church and the tranquillity and prosperity of the public weal are . . . protected, guarded and maintained'. The statutes proceed to commit the members to supporting the

4 For a discussion of the actual numbers involved, see: Keith John Walters, 'Aspects of Style and Design in the *Missa L'Homme Armé* Tradition, c.1450–c.1500' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Brunel University, 2002), p. 6, fn. 1; on pp. 6–14, Walters provides a dispassionate overview of the full range of the existing *L'homme armé* scholarship to 2002, but see also note 6 below.

5 The origin of the supposedly isolated and later *L'homme armé* mass for twelve voices, formerly attributed to the Rome-based Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74), awaits proper investigation. Musicologists D. James Ross and Michael Swithinbank, in private communications, have stated their belief that, while the work sounds distinctly 'Roman', it is very unlikely even to date from the seventeenth century.

6 For a sense of the evolving debates, and for surveys and overviews of scholarship on the subject, see: the 'communications' from Barbara Haggh, Don Giller, David Fallows and Richard Taruskin, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987): pp. 139–53; Stephanie Roche, 'Crusading to Pluralism: *L'homme armé* and *The Armed Man, A Mass for Peace*', *Context*, 33 (2008): pp. 67–79 at pp. 67, 73–6; Sean Gallagher, *Johannes Regis* (Turnhout, 2010), ch. 2 'The Armed Archangel', pp. 59–114; Joseph Sargent, 'Morales, Josquin and the *L'homme armé* Tradition', *Early Music History*, 30 (2011): pp. 177–212.

7 Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (Oxford, 2012), p. 233.

8 *Complete Works*, pp. 1–45; '*Missa l'Homme armé*', in Kenneth Elliott (ed.), *Music of Scotland 1500–1700* (Musica Britannica vol. XV: London, 1975), pp. 30–57; Robert Carver: *Mass L'Homme armé*, (ed.) Gabor Darvas (Budapest, 1975). Recorded editions include: *Missa L'homme armé*, The Renaissance Group of St Andrews, directed by Douglas Gifford, Abbey Recording Co. (1983) [LP]; *Missa L'homme armé*, Cappella Nova, directed by Alan Tavener, ASV CD GAU 126 (1995).

9 Woods Preece, *Our awin Scottis Use*, pp. 150, 152, 155–7. Scotland's links to these Burgundian chivalric and cultural developments may have been further fostered through James II's marriage to Philip's niece, Marie of Gueldres, in 1448: Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 76–8.

Order's head in 'arms or enterprises for the defence of the Holy Christian Faith, or to defend, maintain and restore the dignity, estate and liberty of our mother Holy Church'.¹⁰

The 'Holy Christian Faith' required defence, above all, against the Ottoman Turks. Duke Philip's father, John the Fearless of Burgundy (r.1371–1419), had been defeated and captured when battling them at Nicopolis in September 1396. The earliest appearances of the '*L'homme armé*' tune (and words) are of Burgundian provenance and, hence, the armed man has traditionally been identified as the Turk (though it is now accepted that the term has a range of allusive meanings).¹¹ At the Feast of the Vow of the Pheasant of 17 February 1454 – which inspired Dufay's *Lamentatio* for the fall of Constantinople – Philip committed himself to liberating Constantine's city.¹² In December that year, his son Charles announced a crusade but it never took place. Nonetheless, in 1463, the ageing Philip was prepared to support the crusade proclaimed in 1460 by Pope Pius II, which was only prevented from setting sail from Ancona by the ailing pope's death there in 1464. A constant thread in *L'homme armé* scholarship is a close link between the mass settings, the Order of the Golden Fleece and the idea of a crusade against the Ottomans. Charles the Bold (r.1467–77) was under pressure from the papacy and his Italian allies throughout his life to crusade against the Turks and, indeed, his 1473 meeting with the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (r.1452–93) at Trier was organised on the pretext of coordinating forces for just such a campaign.¹³ Appeals to the ideal of an anti-Ottoman crusade had become and would long remain a commonplace of international diplomacy in the fifteenth century. It was used when occasion required by both popes and monarchs – including James IV of Scotland between 1507 and 1513.¹⁴

The earliest record of any *Missa L'homme armé* concerns the copying of such a mass at Cambrai in 1462, long thought to be a lost work by Johannes Regis (c.1425–c.1496), canon of Soignies and a Burgundian subject. Exhaustive recent work by Sean Gallagher has shown, amongst many other things, that this must in fact refer to the extant *Missa L'homme armé/Dum sacrum mysterium* by Regis.¹⁵ This work incorporates a whole string of verbal (not musical) quotations from the liturgical office of St Michael the Archangel, starting with '*Dum sacrum*

10 *Exploring History 1400–1900: An Anthology of Primary Sources*, (ed.) Rachel Gibbons (Manchester, 2007), pp. 48–9.

11 Adalbert Roth, '*L'homme armé, le doubté turcq, l'ordre de la toison d'or* Zur « Begleitmusik » der letzten grossen Kreuzzugsbewegung nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel', in Jörg Jarnut and Hans-Hugo Steinhoff (eds), *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 469–79, at pp. 473–9.

12 Guillaume Du Fay, *Opera Omnia 01/21: Lamentatio Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, (ed.) A.E. Planchart (Santa Barbara, 2008), p. 5. For the Feast itself, see: Andrew Brown and Graeme Small (eds), *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries c. 1420–1530* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 36–9.

13 Richard J. Walsh, 'Charles the Bold and the crusade: politics and propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977): pp. 53–86.

14 Alan MacQuarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1050–1560* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 107–12; Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 200–211.

15 Gallagher, *Johannes Regis*, ch. 2 'The Armed Archangel', pp. 59–114.

mysterium', the text of the Magnificat antiphon for first vespers of Michaelmas. Gallagher notes that recent scholarship on *L'homme armé* masses . . . has emphasized the potential multivalence of the Armed Man, an image that could figure in a complex web of symbolic associations.¹⁶ Regis's explicit linking of the Armed Man and the Armed Archangel is actually one of the more direct of these associations. On this view, one might even suggest that it would have been precisely something like the charge to write a St Michael mass that first prompted a composer to bring this tune and its bellicose imagery into a liturgical context.¹⁷

This Burgundian data is extremely suggestive when juxtaposed with the fact Robert Carver wrote not only a *Missa L'homme armé* but also a *Missa dum sacrum mysterium* (1508) for ten voices, '*ad honorem Dei et sancti Michaelis archangeli*'.¹⁸ The *cantus firmus* on which the latter is built is the extended melody of the '*Dum sacrum*' antiphon, but the final part of this chapter will seek to show that Carver's mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, no less than Regis's, is linked with the 'armed man'.

Robert Carver's *Missa L'homme Armé* and the Sword of State

The official website of the (Protestant) British Monarchy rather inadequately describes Scotland's Sword of State (Figure 13.1) as:

[a] generous papal gift, presented to James IV in 1507, from Julius II (who commissioned Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel). Almost 1.4 metres long, the silver-gilt handle is decorated with oak leaves and acorns (symbols of the risen Christ), and at the bottom of the handle are two stylised oak leaves overlapping the blade. The blade is etched with the figures of St Peter and St Paul and Pope Julius's inscription.¹⁹

The wording here implies that the 'generous' papal gift of 1507 was some sort of one-off favour. In fact, as Charles Burns points out, such papal gifts as this sword were 'the embodiment of one of the great traditions of Christendom,

16 Gallagher here references: Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology and Music* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 164–205; Flynn Warmington, 'The Ceremony of the Armed Man: the Sword, the Altar and the *L'homme armé* Mass', in Paula Higgins (ed.), *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 89–130; Rob C. Wegman: 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's *Missa L'Homme armé* – And Some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114/ 2 (1989): pp. 189–202, at pp. 193–9.

17 Gallagher, *Johannes Regis*, p. 92.

18 *Complete Works*, pp. 151–204; *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium*, The Renaissance Group of St Andrews, directed by Douglas Gifford, ACA (1988) [LP]; *Mass Dum sacrum mysterium*, CD Gau 124 Cappella Nova, directed by Alan Tavener (1991) [CD]; *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium*, The Sixteen, directed by Harry Christophers, Coro 16051 (2007) [CD].

19 'The Honours of Scotland', *The Official Website of the British Monarchy* (2008–09), <http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Symbols/TheHonourofScotland.aspx> [accessed August 2014].

and not just isolated and far-fetched episodes of passing papal whim'.²⁰ The centuries-old tradition we are concerned with here was one whereby the reigning pope would bless a splendid ornamental sword and hat during the liturgical celebrations of Christmas Day and then confer them on a chosen recipient. Burns comments that: 'The blessed sword and hat came to be the most coveted marks of papal favour, held in somewhat the same regard as a Nobel Peace Prize at the present day'.²¹ The sword and hat were both extremely fine and extremely costly:

Each year the popes paid out such high sums . . . in order to express symbolically, but tangibly too, the confidence they placed in any given person to defend the rights and liberties of Holy Church and of the Apostolic See in particular. . . . Sometimes the gift was sent to the prince in recognition of services already performed, in other cases, the honour so conferred was intended to prompt him to take up the sword in defence of the Church.²²

The velvet-covered hat, embroidered with pearls, including the figure of a dove, expressed the ideal that, in fighting to defend Holy Church, the recipient would be guided by the Holy Ghost.²³

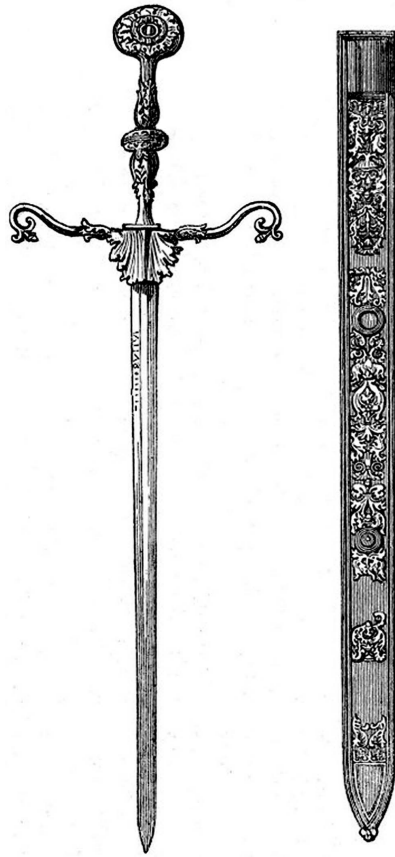


Figure 13.1 Scotland's Sword of State and its scabbard, from Charles Knight, *'Old England': A Pictorial Museum of Regal, Ecclesiastical, Baronial, Municipal, and Popular Antiquities* (2 vols, London: Charles Knight and Co., 1845), vol. ii, illustration 2223. See plate section

20 Charles Burns, *The Scottish Sword of State* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 12–13.

21 Charles Burns, 'Papal Gifts and Honours for the Earlier Tudors', *Dalla Chiesa antica alla Chiesa moderna* (Rome, 1983), pp. 173–97, at p. 183.

22 Charles Burns, 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: the Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword', *IR*, 20 (1969): pp. 150–94, at p. 164.

23 *Ibid.* The hat awarded to Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol in 1581 can be seen in Burns, *The Scottish Sword of State*, p. 8. The blessed hat is often described, rather misleadingly, as a 'cap'; this chapter will use Burns's terminology.

How does this relate to Robert Carver's music? Burns does not highlight the fact that many of the known awards of the Sword and Hat were, quite specifically, to reward or encourage crusading activity by the recipient. Nor does he comment that fighting the Turks and Islam was the stated motive underpinning all the swords awarded by Popes Pius II and Paul II between 1458–71, as was presumably also the case for at least some of those awarded between 1471 and 1513 by Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, Alexander VI and Julius II, full details of which are now lacking. We know that Leo X's award of the sword to Henry VIII of England in 1514 was accompanied by a letter urging the king to turn his weapons on the Turks.²⁴ In 1999, the American musicologist Flynn Warmington suggested that the investiture of the recipient of a papally-blest sword and hat is an eminently suitable context for the singing of a mass based on *L'homme armé*.²⁵

If the annual recipient could not be personally invested by the Pope with these sacred honours, a full-scale papal embassy would convey them to the recipient. This is what happened with, for example, the swords and hats awarded to Philip the Good in 1461 and to James IV by Julius II in 1507. The latter is one of the best-conserved surviving examples of those symbolic weapons. Papal protocol laid down that the actual investiture had to take place at a solemn celebration of high mass on a feast-day and, in 1507, James IV was duly invested with sword and hat at the most solemn high mass of the liturgical year, namely that of Easter 1507 in the Abbey of Holyrood. As Norman Macdougall succinctly comments, the 'celebrations of the king's new honours were as public and as lavish as possible, involving drummers, harpers, heralds, six trumpeters and thirty-seven minstrels . . . To European princes in general, and to his own subjects in particular, James IV displayed on that Easter Sunday his public face, the face of a powerful ruler, a benefactor of the Church, favoured by the pope, beloved of God'.²⁶

In 2007, the Scottish Government showed that it understood something of the international significance of Scotland's Sword of State when it organised a major ecumenical reception in Edinburgh Castle to mark the quincentenary of James IV's investiture with the sword and hat.²⁷ To mark the occasion, the Scottish Catholic Church issued *The Scottish Sword of State*, an illustrated booklet in

24 Anthony Steven Brown, 'Defending the Faith from France: an underlying motivation of the English Crown's political relationship with the Papacy 1509–1522' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011), p. 137. Henry himself had written to the pope on 28 September 1513 from Tournai, voicing his support for Leo's intention to organise a crusade (*ibid.*, p. 136).

25 Flynn Warmington, 'The Ceremony of the Armed Man', pp. 89–132, especially pp. 110–18. Her annotated lists of recorded swords and recipients between 1455 and 1503 fails to note, however, that Henry VII of England's second blessed sword and hat were awarded in recognition of his having joined Alexander VI's Holy League against the Turks in 1496; noted in Burns, 'Papal Gifts and Honours for the Earlier Tudors', p. 182.

26 Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 196.

27 '500th Anniversary of Sword of State', *The Scottish Government Website* (13 November 2007), <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2007/11/13152357> [accessed August 2014].

which Burns revisits his earlier work on Papal gifts and restates the sword's real import and significance. Burns, a churchman who has spent a long working life within the Vatican, is able to bring to the papal sword and hat a lively appreciation of the transcendent nature of the sacred:

Men were accustomed to learn by means of the visual arts almost all they knew about the Faith, and in this way even the most profound concepts of religious belief were presented to the minds of the humblest and least instructed of the faithful. With the rapid advance of scientific knowledge, however, that sense of discernment and appreciation of the symbolic has largely been blunted. We should beware of judging symbols such as the Rose and the Sword and their ceremonies as over-contrived [. . .] these symbolic tokens and gestures made an immediate appeal to both high and low alike and left a profound impression on them.²⁸

Just as it is difficult for modern agnostics to conceive of what a pre-Reformation Christian would have experienced at mass when the choir was singing the *Agnus Dei* in the physical presence of the Living God in the transubstantiated bread and wine on the altar, so too it is all too easy to dismiss the papal award of the blessed sword and hat as nothing more than a cynically-calculated bribe intended to secure a desired political response on the part of an equally cynical recipient. That is how historians generally write about the sword conferred on James IV in 1507 or Henry VIII in 1514.²⁹ Julius II was no doubt trying to detach James IV from France in 1507; but the sacredness of the sword, once blessed, is a fact independent of temporal considerations, such as papal strategy, and any believing Catholic would be able to understand and hence treasure the sword in that light.

Burns's invaluable discussions of papal gifts to Stewart and Tudor monarchs enlarge our awareness of contemporary perceptions of the nature of the sword and hat with which King James was invested that Easter Sunday. But Burns's *The Scottish Sword of State* makes no mention at all of James IV's well-known interest in a pan-European crusade or of the two *L'homme armé* masses in the Carver Choirbook. As early as 1984, Isobel Woods Preece had adumbrated the grounds for making a link, when discussing a letter of 10 July 1509 from James IV to Pope Julius.³⁰ Thanking him *inter alia* for upholding the privileges of the Chapel Royal, James states that the Chapel's bishop, chapter and canons 'have

28 Burns, 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs', pp. 167–8, cf. Burns, *Sword of State*, p. 12.

29 For example see: Brown, 'Defending the Faith from France', pp. 130–43, where discussion is entirely focused on 'the political significance to the English crown of those "spiritual" honours awarded annually by the papacy' (p. 131): 'James IV received it [the sword] in 1507 for political reasons, in anticipation of the Scot's desired support against France' (p. 136).

30 Isobel Woods Preece, 'The Carver Choirbook' (2 vols, Unpublished PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1984), vol. i, pp. 132–3.

decreed and dedicated to your Holiness a solemn annual mass with insignia of arms'.³¹ Woods notes that:

L'homme armé would have been an apt description of Julius II who was more a general than a churchman. . . . If the above letter is indeed about a *Missa L'homme armé*, the problem still remains of determining which one would have been the object of this letter for each in its own way is suitable: the Dufay because it was in the Vatican repertory and the Carver [sic] setting because it was new.³²

Guillaume Dufay (1397–1474) grew up in Cambrai but, from 1420, spent twenty years in Italy, including periods in papal service, and swiftly established himself as Europe's foremost composer. From 1440, he was based back in Cambrai for ten years, then travelled again, only to return to Cambrai for good in 1458. His *Missa L'homme armé* is a work of this final period. Yet the musicologist Rob Wegman has written of this compositional *tour de force* that:

if it had survived anonymously, one could easily believe it to be the work of a breathtakingly ambitious young man [. . .] determined to impress, keen to show that he is never lost for ideas, that he will not borrow any convention without turning his handling of it into a commentary of some kind – in short, a man who will always go one step beyond convention.³³

Wegman's words constitute a perfect description of Robert Carver's *L'homme armé* mass, which is almost certainly the work of a breathtakingly ambitious – and gifted – young man displaying his powers in a showpiece composition, consciously designed as part of an exalted European tradition.

James IV's Scotland provides a set of circumstances perfectly matching Flynn Warmington's suggested criteria for a *Missa L'homme armé* in conjunction with a papally-blessed sword and hat. If Carver's mass was not composed for Easter Sunday 1507 and the investiture of his king, then the Dufay mass may well have been sung, with all its associations with the glory of Burgundy (and the crusading aspirations and crusading diplomacy of its dukes); and Carver's mass could well have been written for the annual mass '*cum armorum insigniis*' in mid-1509. Six months later, James IV's crusading correspondence with Julius had moved up a gear, with talk of the pope leading a crusade in 1510.³⁴ Like the award of the papal sword, James's extensive 'crusading diplomacy' in the

31 Original Latin: '*annuum addixerunt & dedicaverunt cum armorum insigniis Solenne sacrificium*', see: *Letters of James IV*, (ed.) R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1953), no. 252, p. 149.

32 Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use*, p. 157 (reproducing what she wrote in 1984).

33 Liner notes to Naxos CD 8.553087, Dufay *Missa L'homme armé*, sung by the Oxford Camerata, directed by Jeremy Summerly (1995).

34 MacQuarrie, *Scotland and Crusades*, p. 109; Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 205.

years before Flodden cannot but have impressed his own subjects and certainly also constituted a way of putting him and his kingdom in the European spotlight.

That James's crusading rhetoric was seeking to put Scotland centre-stage is indisputable, but views on James IV and the crusades are divided. Robert L. Mackie sneers at James as 'a moonstruck romantic';³⁵ however, Ranald Nicholson and Gordon Donaldson suggest there really was an urgent need for a united front against the Turkish threat (after all, by 1529 the Turks would be besieging Vienna),³⁶ and Norman Macdougall's analysis convincingly concludes that, far from being moonstruck, the Scottish king was adept at making diplomatic use of crusading rhetoric. The Scots who marched in such numbers into England in August 1513 were following a king who had projected his authority (and his country's status) in no uncertain terms. After all, did Scotland not possess the largest warship in the world, the *Michael*?³⁷

Carver and the Armed Archangel

Never was there a more demonstrative representation of Scottish regal authority than James IV's flagship (Figure 13.2).³⁸ The *Michael* was also the king's most spectacular self-presentation, as an 'armed man', and the warship is perhaps more familiar to historians than Robert Carver's resplendent mass for St Michael's Day, *Dum sacrum mysterium* (1506–08), his undated *Missa L'homme armé* and Mass for Six Voices, or even James's unminted gold coin of 1513 depicting the Archangel Michael (Figures 13.3a–b).³⁹ Nonetheless, the *Michael*, Carver's mass for St Michael,



Figure 13.2 James IV's warship the *Michael*, for a time the largest afloat, launched in 1511 (National Museums Scotland). See plate section

35 Robert L. Mackie, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 201–2.

36 Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1978), p. 494; Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Kings* (London, 1967), p. 142.

37 *James IV*, pp. 201–9.

38 Norman Macdougall, "The greatest scheip that ewer saillit in Ingland or France": James IV's "Great Michael", in Macdougall (ed.), *Scotland and War: AD 79–1918* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 36–60. See Figure 13.2. See also: Ross, *Musick Fyne*, p. 27.

39 See Figures 13.3a–b. See also: Macdougall, *James IV*, figs 12–13; Ian H. Stewart, 'Some Scottish Ceremonial Coins', *PSAS*, 98 (1966): pp. 254–75, no. 3 in plate XXXVI.

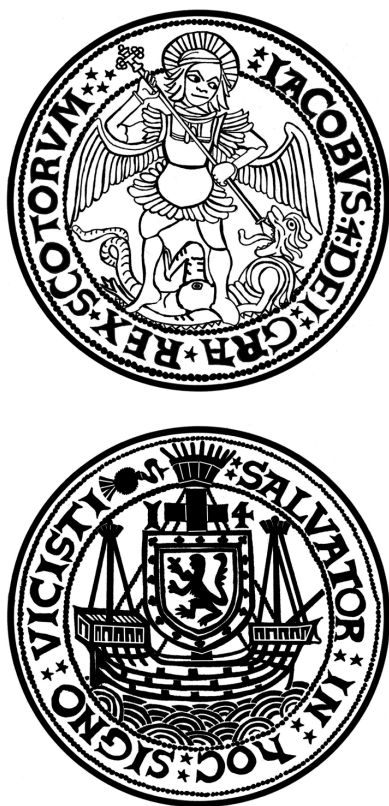


Figure 13.3 Pattern for a James IV gold coin (1513), never issued (Miles Kerr-Peterson). See plate section

the Mass for Six Voices and the coin are all closely related, both to each other and to Scotland's Sword of State and Carver's mass *L'homme armé*.

James IV wished his 'great ship' to embody his authority and the imperial status of the Scottish crown. Norman Macdougall speaks of 'an element of ostentatious display' and 'James IV's undoubted desire to impress, both at home and abroad'.⁴⁰ Scale models of the *Michael* can give us a faint impression of the ship and the magnificence its builder sought to project. But five hundred years on, there is nothing faint about the magnificence projected by the sound of Carver's mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, one of the pinnacles of Scottish creative achievement. The mass is founded on the extended plainsong melody of the antiphon sung at the *Magnificat* during first vespers of Michaelmas, to the words 'While John beheld the sacred mystery, Michael the Archangel sounded the trumpet; forgive, O Lord our God, thou that openest the Book and loosest the seals thereof'. The reference is to the Last Judgement and the opening of the sealed book in the hand of God, described in Revelation 5. In Revela-

tion 6 to 8, the book's seven seals are opened. Seven angels are given trumpets after the opening of the last seal: the sounding of the seventh trumpet marks the consummation of all things.⁴¹ However, the pre-eminent role of the Archangel Michael in the unfolding of the Last Judgement derives from the description of the Second Coming of Christ found in First Thessalonians: '*ipse Dominus in jussu, et in voce Archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de caelo*'.⁴²

St Michael's association with music, and specifically with the music of the Last Judgement, is surely part of the reason why the chapel dedicated to the

⁴⁰ Macdougall, *James IV*, p. 242.

⁴¹ Revelation, 6–8:1, 10:7, 11:15–19.

⁴² Ibid., 4:16. Translation: 'the Lord Himself, with a cry of command, and with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trumpet of God, shall descend from heaven'.

Virgin Mary and St Michael in Stirling Castle was James IV's choice for housing his Chapel Royal. For the remit of a chapel royal was to pray for the reigning monarch and his (or her) dead predecessors as they waited in purgatory for the Last Judgement: the image of St Michael holding the scales in which the souls of the dead are weighed is a familiar one. Even more familiar, however, is the image of a fully armoured Michael defeating Satan, as described in Revelation.⁴³ As Chief Captain of the Heavenly Hosts, St Michael was seen as the protector of the Church against its enemies and, hence, the special protector of crusading armies. The Stewart dynasty seems to have felt a particular devotion to St Michael, to judge from the central angel hovering protectively above the enormous coat of arms that James I had placed above the original entrance to Linlithgow Palace in the 1430s (Figure 13.4).⁴⁴ James IV, for his part, will have been well aware of the French Order of St Michael, founded in 1469 by Louis XI, particularly as James III had been one of the Order's original companions.⁴⁵ The Order's motto – *Immensi tremor oceani*: 'the terror of the measureless ocean'⁴⁶ – was a perfect description of the *Great Michael*, a ship intended to impress the French monarchy.⁴⁷



Figure 13.4 James I's gateway to Linlithgow Palace: the angel guarding the royal arms of Scotland (Buchanan Collection). See plate section

Carver's *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium* is written on the grandest scale, honouring the Archangel in ten-part polyphony of breathtaking splendour and boundless invention, a positive ocean of sound. The ten voices represent the nine orders of angels joined by the voice of mankind. As an Augustinian canon, the young Carver was an heir of the tradition of mystical and musical theology developed at the Augustinian Abbey of St Victor in Paris. Carver's fellow Scot,

43 Ibid., 12:7–9. James IV gave an image of St Michael worth £24 'with ane diamond in it' to the Queen in 1507: *TA*, vol. iii, p. 360.

44 John G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces* (East Linton, 1999), pp. 5–9, and plates I.1, I.3 and C.3.

45 *TA*, vol. i, pp. 81, 86 (collar of the order of St Michael from James III's Treasury, 1488); Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, pp. 81–2.

46 That this is the meaning of *tremor* is confirmed by the inscription on the tomb of the great Dutch admiral Michiel [i.e. Michael] de Ruyter (1607–76) which also ends with the words 'Tremor immensi oceani', written in a much larger script; see Robert G. Barnewell, *A Sketch of the Life and Times of John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland* (New York, 1856), p. 78.

47 Macdougall, 'The Greattest Scheip', pp. 36–7; Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 242–3.

Richard of St Victor (d.1173), had written in the *Benjamin Major*, 5, XVIII, about the way sacred music enables the contemplative soul to soar ‘towards spiritual being, and be raised up above the earth and all earthly things and pass over wholly in ecstasy of mind to the contemplation of heavenly things’.⁴⁸ Through Carver’s iridescent, highly decorated interweaving vocal lines, the third tenor voice sings the extended melody of the antiphon ‘*Dum sacrum . . .*’ in very long notes, placing the apocalyptic message of the antiphon at the heart of the music. The music needs to be heard, of course, but its power calls to mind several passages in Revelation, as here:

And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying “Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice . . . for the Marriage of the Lamb is come.”⁴⁹

St Michael the Warrior Angel, papally-blessed swords, *L’homme armé* masses and papal plans for crusading against the Turks all come together in the person of James IV. Like his ancestor Robert the Bruce, the king had personal reasons of conscience for wanting to travel to the Holy Land as an act of penance. In 1306, Bruce had murdered John Comyn before the high altar in Dumfries and, unable to go to the Holy Land himself, he left instructions that his embalmed heart be taken on Crusade, carried by Sir James Douglas.⁵⁰ There are direct links between the penitent Robert the Bruce and the young, iron-belt-wearing James IV’s penitential attitude to his involvement in the death of his father in 1488: the battle of Sauchieburn was fought near Stirling, as Bannockburn had been, and James IV was crowned at Scone on the very anniversary of Bruce’s victory.⁵¹

In the final months of 1507, James was making overtures to the French king for ‘a joint Franco-Scottish venture – a crusade rather than a pilgrimage – to the Holy Land’ and by 1510 he was in contact with the Venetian commander-in-chief about Scottish attempts to reconcile Venice and France ‘so that a combined attack might be made on the enemies of the Christian faith’.⁵² In the context of his crusading rhetoric, he presumably envisaged his ‘great ship’, the *Michael*, being used as flagship of a combined European fleet against the Turks. The *Michael*’s enormous keel was laid down in July 1506, the year in which Julius II decided that the Scottish king was to be the recipient of that Christmas’s

48 Original Latin: ‘*se a terra, terrenisque omnibus suspendere, et ad coelestium contemplationem tota mentis alienatione transire*’. See J-P Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 196 (*Richardi a Sancto Victore Opera Omnia*, Paris, 1880), column 0192A.

49 Revelation, 19:6.

50 Grant G. Simpson, ‘The Heart of King Robert I: Pious Crusade or Marketing Gambit?’, in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 173–86.

51 Macdougall, *James IV*, pp. 51–3.

52 Ibid., pp. 201, 206.

papally-blessed sword and hat. The 'great ship' was launched in 1511, with three trumpeters playing.⁵³ James Ross has suggested that Robert Carver's undated Mass for Six Voices is linked with the launch: full of music imitating trumpet calls, it is based on phrases taken from the freely composed sections of the *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium*. The vespers antiphon 'Dum sacrum . . .', quoted earlier, speaks of Michael sounding the trumpet, and Carver's Mass for Six Voices can therefore be seen as his third 'mass of the armed man'. Ross notes that the music creates 'an impression of brimming confidence'.⁵⁴

Brimming confidence certainly characterises the design of the coin James IV planned to issue in 1513 (See Figure 13.3), presumably to advertise his crusading ambitions and celebrate his military intervention on behalf of the 'auld ally', France. The obverse depicts the Archangel Michael overthrowing Satan and the reverse shows a three-masted warship whose central mast is the cross, bearing the lion rampant banner of the kings of Scots.⁵⁵ Round this image runs the legend 'Salvator in hoc signo viciisti',⁵⁶ alluding to Constantine the Great's vision of the Cross in the sky before the decisive battle of Milvian Bridge which established Constantine as sole Emperor of the Roman world. Constantine's victory in turn led to the official recognition of Christianity as the empire's state religion, the end of persecution and the founding of Constantinople – the city that, since 1453, successive popes had longed to liberate from the Turkish persecutors of Christians.

The *angelot* coin design featuring St Michael defeating the dragon was first struck c.1340 in France, where it long remained popular. When it was adopted by English monarchs, Henry VI, followed by Edward IV, issued it with the obverse bearing the legend, *Per crucem tuam salva nos Xri[st]e Red[emptor]*,⁵⁷ surrounding a single-masted ship on which the mast was the Cross, carrying the English royal arms. This design was then used by both Henry VII (issued c.1507–09) and his son Henry VIII (first coinage, 1509–26).⁵⁸ James IV's coin of 1513 would have been Scotland's first to carry the images of the archangel and the ship; it appears to be intended as a crushing riposte to the English design. Not only does the Cross uphold the royal lion of Scotland's monarchs, but the Scottish warship is very much grander, with not one but three masts,

53 Ibid., p. 237. The *Michael* was launched on 12 October 1511, between the feast of St Michael of 29 September and the subsidiary feast of Mont St Michel of 16 October, both dates which the royal court observed at Stirling and in the parish church of Linlithgow which was itself dedicated to St Michael: *TA*, vol. i, pp. 173, 238; vol. iii, pp. 65, 73, 283.

54 Ibid., p. 237; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, pp. 25–8; *Complete Works*, pp. 106–50; recorded by Cappella Nova, directed by Alan Tavener, along with the *Mass for Six Voices: Missa L'homme armé*, on CD Gau 126, sung by Cappella Nova, directed by Alan Tavener (1991) [CD].

55 See note 36 above for printed references to the coin.

56 Translation: 'Saviour, in this sign thou hast conquered'.

57 Translation: 'By Thy Cross, save us O Redeemer Christ'.

58 Robert Lloyd Kenyon (ed.), *The Gold Coins of England, arranged and described: being a sequel to Mr Hawkins' Silver Coins of England* (London, 1884), pp. 52–3, 61–3, 77–81, 84–5 and plate v (images 32–3, 37, 40), plate vii (images 50–53), plate viii (images 56–8, 62–3).

presumably alluding to the *Great Michael*.⁵⁹ And its legend is no prayer for salvation but a triumphant statement, loud with overtones of Constantine's victory at Milvian Bridge.

Ian Stewart has convincingly dated this spectacular coin to 1513 and mentioned a possible link with the *Great Michael*. But, since he saw no particular significance in the coin's legend, he made no reference to James's crusading rhetoric with the result that (as he freely admits) none of his various hypotheses as to the coin's *raison d'être* is truly satisfying.⁶⁰ When taken in conjunction with the perspectives opened up by contemporary '*L'homme armé*' scholarship, Carver's masses for the armed man provide a richly resonant context within which the coin, the Armed Archangel and the ship named after him all form part of James IV's self-representation as a European monarch to be reckoned with. In what have been presented here as his three 'armed man' masses, Carver lays quite inordinate stress on the final word of the *Agnus Dei* – 'peace'. When we hear the notes of the '*L'homme armé*' tune enhaloed in the seamless, soaring flow of the '*pacem*' of that mass, it is impossible not to think that the 'peace' being evoked (or even embodied) is 'the peace of God, which passeth all understanding'. The waves of triumphant trumpet calls that conclude the Mass for Six Voices, by contrast, may make us think in the first instance of peace achieved by warfare. However, when we take into account this mass's relationship with Carver's *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium*, and the archangelic trumpet found in its apocalyptic cantus firmus, what comes to mind in both settings of '*pacem*', is the culminating vision of Revelation:

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven⁶¹

With a composer like Carver in his service, James IV was able to represent his authority as God's anointed on a positively cosmic scale.

Conclusion

Divinely-sanctioned royal authority, as recognised by Julius II when he awarded the sword and hat to James IV, is a concept increasingly alien to the twenty-first-century Western mind. The quasi-sacramental nature of the papally-blessed sword and hat is even more difficult for us to comprehend, though the Cromwellian iconoclasts certainly grasped the power embodied in such things: having

59 For the *Michael* as a three-master, as shown on the coin, and not a four-master as in several reconstructed models, see: David H. Caldwell, 'How Well Prepared Was James IV to Fight by Land and Sea in 1513?', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History*, 14 (2013): pp. 33–75, at pp. 57–8. Caldwell notes that all James's large vessels 'were for warlike enterprises, especially a crusade', p. 52.

60 Stewart, 'Some Scottish Ceremonial Coins', pp. 266–70.

61 Revelation, 21:1–2.

destroyed the English regalia in 1649, they went to great lengths to try to seize and destroy the Honours of Scotland in 1651–52.⁶² Mercifully, Scotland's Renaissance crown, sceptre and sword of state are still with us, even though our conscious minds cannot hope to relate to these material objects in the way that pre-Reformation Scots did. Yet music has an emotive power to open up realms hardly susceptible of being put into words: 'Seeing is like touching, hearing is like being touched; except that the touch of sound does not stop at the skin'.⁶³ Or, again, music 'leads us outside ourselves since, although we interpret what we hear within our brains, we are aware (as sentient beings) that its source is elsewhere. Music thus offers a striking example of something which is both immanent and transcendent'.⁶⁴ Thus, across five centuries, the music of Robert Carver can still convey to us, with an immediacy and power which the material Sword of State itself can no longer match, something of the authority of the Stewart monarch invested with that sword during High Mass on Easter Day 1507.

62 For a recent exhaustive account, see: Jimmy Powdrell-Campbell, *The Scottish Crown Jewels and the Minister's Wife* (Stroud, 2007).

63 David L. Burrows, *Sound, Speech and Music* (Amherst, 1990), p. 21.

64 Timothy Hone, 'When in our Music God is Glorified', in Jeff Astley et al. (eds), *Creative Chords: Studies in Music, Theology and Christian Formation* (Leominster, 2000), pp. 153–71, at p. 158.

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14 ‘By hammer in hand all arts do stand’

The Protection and Projection of Craft Privilege in the Early Modern Scottish Burgh

Stephen Bowman

Introduction

Considerations of authority and power tend naturally toward the examination of the influence and social positions of ruling elites – be they royal, landed or religious elites. Power, however, is a relationship: it is relative and often depends on a specific set of circumstances. As a result, individuals occupying a variety of positions on the social hierarchy can wield power and authority.¹ This chapter considers an instance when power and authority were exercised – or at least were perceived by some individuals and groups to have existed – within a particular social and economic context; namely the early modern burgh in Scotland. Specifically, this chapter analyses the ways in which the commercial and social authority of early modern urban craft incorporations was protected and projected in an environment that was not always respectful of their theoretical privileges. It draws upon examples from material culture and includes an original object study of an artefact currently on display in the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) in Edinburgh. The artefact is a heraldic stone panel that belonged to one of Edinburgh’s metalworking artisans, who was a member of the burgh’s incorporation of ‘hammermen’. For that reason, this chapter will principally focus on the experience of the hammermen craft, both in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland. While the hammermen and their fellow artisans were not kings or lords, they nevertheless believed themselves to be in possession of power and authority within the context of burgh society. As this chapter will argue, such power and authority was projected by means of material objects. These projections speak to notions of social status and conspicuous consumption and are best understood in terms of Pierre Bourdieu’s conception of the different forms of ‘capital’ to which societal elites have privileged access and which they are able to accumulate and wield.²

1 Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics* (New York, 2004), p. 2.

2 Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The forms of capital’, in John G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, 1986), pp. 241–58.

Craft Privilege and Authority

The earliest Scottish burghs – urban centres that had been granted a level of self-governance – were established by the crown from the 1100s onwards.³ One of the defining characteristics of the burghs was their system of granting trading privileges and commercial monopolies to their ‘freemen’ or ‘burgesses’. Such freemen typically came from the ranks of the craft incorporations and merchant guilds; an individual was required to become a burghess before he could become a freeman, or member, of a craft incorporation. A craftsman was thereafter entitled to set up his own workshop and manufacture and sell his products within the burgh. The remaining residents of the town were ‘unfree’ and, for the most part, consisted of the poorer inhabitants.⁴ Residents of nearby settlements and from the surrounding countryside were also regarded as unfree. Whereas the burgh craftsmen enjoyed commercial and social privileges derived from their status as freemen within the legally defined territory of the burgh, suburban craftsmen were ‘unfreemen’ who, if they worked within the town’s liberties (areas of jurisdiction that were sometimes county-sized), would have encroached upon these privileges.⁵

The origin of the craft organisations in Scottish medieval burghs has generated a degree of historiographical debate. Typically, historians like Marwick and Smout have argued that craft incorporations were formed in response to the merchant guilds’ oligarchic control of town councils, through which the merchants are said to have excluded the craftsmen. From this derives the convention that burgh life was dominated by the competing factions of merchants and craftsmen.⁶ Yet the picture was more complex. In more recent years, Michael Lynch has successfully led a revisionist school of thought which argues that wealthier craftsmen were able to join the merchant guild throughout the early modern period, especially in Edinburgh.⁷ Indeed, the idea that there existed a so-called ‘craft aristocracy’ is important to this chapter’s argument.

3 Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell, ‘Introduction’, in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (eds), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 3; Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, c. 1050–c. 1750* (London, 1995), p. 57; Elizabeth Ewan, ‘“Hamperit in ane hony came”: Sights, Sounds and Smells in the Medieval Town’, in Edward J. Cowan and Lizanne Henderson (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Medieval Scotland, 1000–1600* (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 109–44.

4 T. Christopher Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* (London, 1969), p. 149.

5 Smout, *Scottish People*, p. 147.

6 Ibid., p. 149; James David Marwick, *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts, a sketch of the History of Burgess-ship, Guild Brotherhood and Membership of Crafts in the City* (Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 37–9.

7 Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 64; Lynch, ‘Continuity and Change in Urban Society, 1500–1700’, in Robert Allan Houston and Ian D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 85–117. For a useful literature review of this field, see J.R.D. Falconer, ‘Surveying Scotland’s Urban Past: The Pre-Modern Burgh’, *History Compass*, 9/1 (2011): pp. 33–44.

Whatever the merits of the debate over the sectarianism of merchants and craftsmen, it is clear that by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries craftsmen had started to seek formal recognition from the burgh authorities. It was by this process that the various crafts organised themselves into their separate incorporations, with each receiving official written confirmation of this with a 'seal of cause'.⁸ In Scotland, most metalworking craftsmen joined an incorporation of hammermen. The hammermen incorporations typically included blacksmiths, silversmiths, swordslippers and various kinds of gun makers. They also commonly included locksmiths, armourers, pewterers, saddlers, cutlers and lorimers, though precisely which individual trades constituted any one hammermen incorporation differed from burgh to burgh. The crafts were presided over by a deacon and often had a small executive committee of senior masters, called a 'master court'. The master court of the Stirling hammermen consisted of four members whose responsibilities as office-bearers also included the monitoring of 'essays': test pieces of work submitted by potential entrants to the craft.⁹ Indeed, one of the craft incorporations' principal roles was to ensure the quality of manufactured wares. Any craftsman discovered selling items of an unsatisfactory quality could expect punishment, for instance by the confiscation of the defective product. This was one very obvious way in which the craft incorporations possessed and exerted authority.¹⁰

In the same way that they were responsible for quality control, craft incorporations monitored the progress and welfare of apprentices. The period of apprenticeship varied but was usually between five and seven years. Theoretically, an apprenticeship was followed by a period as a wage-earning journeyman, allowing an aspiring craftsman time to accrue the money required to set up as an independent master. In reality, however, a craftsman's career path was not as clear cut.¹¹ In Ayr in the 1630s and 1640s, for example, there were hammermen apprenticeships of wildly different lengths. George McKonnell was entered as an apprentice for 'twa yeiris and ane for meitt and fie', while John Brown's indenture was also to last three years. Contrastingly, Rodger Bell was to serve five years, while Robert Rankin was apprenticed for five years but 'with ane yer for meat and fie befor ane uther'.¹² The term 'meat and fee' represents an alteration to the conditions of the indenture. Whereas an apprentice was

8 Elizabeth P.D. Torrie, 'The Guild in Fifteenth-Century Dunfermline', in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (eds), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, pp. 245–60; Harry Lumsden and P. Henderson Aitken, *History of the Hammermen of Glasgow* (Paisley, 1912), p. 4.

9 David B. Morris, 'The Incorporation of Hammermen of Stirling', *Transactions of the Natural History and Archaeological Society of Stirling*, 50 (1927–28): p. 21; Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, pp. 42–3; Aaron M. Allen, *The Locksmith Craft in Early Modern Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 12.

10 Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, p. 7.

11 Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, pp. 22–4; Smout, *Scottish People*, p. 162.

12 Todds Murray Solicitors Office, Glasgow, Minute Book of the Hammermen of Ayr, 2 September 1641, 27 December 1641, 3 October 1642 and 10 October 1637, Records of the Hammermen of Glasgow, uncatalogued.

initially supposed to live under the care of the master in his house, in the latter years of the apprenticeship the boy was granted more independence and given a small monetary payment and provided with food.¹³ The wording of Rankin's entry is a little ambiguous but it would seem his was a seven year apprenticeship. Alternatively, it may have been a six year indenture with an additional year of guaranteed work before his master took on a new apprentice. It is likely, meanwhile, that the other Ayr apprentices had already started their training and were, for whatever reason, moving between masters.

Research into craft apprenticeships in Bristol has shown that, while apprenticeship was the main method of achieving burgess-ship, the majority of apprentices in fact never managed this. The high dropout rate amongst apprentices suggests that the conditions of apprenticeship – not least the low income – may have been unpalatable for many. Others may have felt that their partial training was sufficient for careers in the countryside. Crucially, however, a high number of young craftsmen in Bristol were required to leave the town to find work, at least partly because of competition with existing masters.¹⁴ This was particularly the case if business was already slow, when craft incorporations were wary of admitting new masters and making things more difficult for themselves. The crafts controlled competition by using their authority to make it harder for applicants to join, perhaps by raising entrance fees or simply not setting an essay. The exclusivity of craft membership is not only demonstrated by the financial hurdles. Upon becoming freemen, Stirling hammermen were required to pay for a dinner. Even new apprentices had an obligation to pay 24 shillings and provide a 'pichar of aill', described – apparently without irony – as being for the 'weill of the craft'.¹⁵ Initiation rituals in Scottish crafts had European parallels and were very much part of the protection and promotion of an 'artisanal identity'. They marked an individual's entry into an exclusive group that wanted to keep private as much as possible the secrets and traditions of the trade.¹⁶

The incorporations did more than simply guard their members' economic privileges and monitor the quality of manufactured goods. They also had a wider social role to play and exercised authority in religious, moral and political spheres. Apprentices in Dundee were required to attend church every Sunday and had to undertake to 'obey and serve' their master in all 'lesum and godlie

13 Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, p. 23.

14 Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Failure to become freemen: urban apprentices in early modern England', *Social History*, 16 (1991): pp. 155–72. Research for late medieval York also shows that most apprentices did not achieve freedom of the town. Indeed, in the late 1400s most freemen had not been apprentices. This is in contrast to Bristol. See Heather Swanson, 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', *Past & Present*, 121 (1988): p. 44.

15 StirCA, PD7/8/2, Records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Stirling, 1608 copy of acts dated March 1563.

16 The term 'artisanal identity' is suggested by James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 4, and is useful for this study; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2009), p. 70.

effairs'. Similarly, meetings of the incorporation started in prayer.¹⁷ Before the Reformation, the religious element within European craft incorporations existed as a separate 'confraternity' within the organisation. It was this element that influenced the additional charitable role played by the crafts.¹⁸ The precise relationship between Scottish craft fraternities and incorporations is unclear, though Stirling's hammermen were also known as the Fraternity of Saint Eloi, after the patron saint of metalworkers.¹⁹ Craft incorporations, meanwhile, were another of the organisations in early modern society that played a role in monitoring the morality and good behaviour of local people. In so doing, they worked alongside burgh courts and kirk sessions. The craft's moralistic gaze was principally directed at apprentices, to whom it had a duty of care.²⁰ The apprentice was required to show satisfactory progress in his work and to display good judgement and character. Gambling and inappropriate sexual relationships were particularly frowned upon.²¹ Craft incorporations would also discipline master craftsmen, with Peter Gib – a cutler in Stirling in the early seventeenth century – receiving punishment, including fines, for a variety of offences. These included the 'sclanderine', or insulting, of Andrew Cunningham and the 'defoising', or the obstruction, of an officer of the craft in the course of his duties.²²

The crafts were embedded in the burgh structure and also possessed political influence. Indeed, as has been shown, one historiographical tradition holds that the very creation of the craft incorporations had been a political act in response to the merchants' grip on the town councils. Even if it is unwise to see a sharp distinction between the merchant and craft burghesses, political events in the burghs were often bound with instances of dispute between the two groups. This was certainly the case in mid-sixteenth-century Perth, where burgh political life was dominated by the attempts of craftsmen to seek increased

17 Nine Trades of Dundee, 'The Nine Incorporated Trades of Dundee', Hammermen's Associated Documents, <http://www.ninetradesofdundee.co.uk/hammermen.html> [accessed 24 July 2013].

18 Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 3; Farr, *Artisans*, pp. 228–36.

19 Morris, 'Hammermen of Stirling', p. 27; D.B. Morris, *The Crafts and the Church in Pre-Reformation Times: A paper read to the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, 18th February 1919* (Stirling, 1919).

20 Christopher A. Whatley, 'Order and Disorder', in Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600–1800* (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 201; S.R. Epstein, 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Pre-industrial Europe', in S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds), *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 61–2; J.R.D. Falconer, *Crime and Community in Reformation Scotland: Negotiating Power in a Burgh Society* (London, 2012).

21 Whatley, 'Order and Disorder', p. 201. Apprentices could occasionally push the boundaries of this authority, as shown by the Parisian apprentices who symbolically killed a number of cats – including their master's wife's – in the early eighteenth century. See Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1999), pp. 75–104. See also Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 198; R.A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment, Edinburgh 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1994), p. 92; Smout, *Scottish People*, p. 162.

22 StirCA, PD7/8/2a, Stirling Hammermen Records, Minute Book, 4 May 1612 and 31 May 1613.

representation on the burgh council. This coincided partly with the legislation of 1555, which temporarily abolished craft deacons apparently as a response to craft agitation elsewhere. It was a political disagreement and not one between two social 'classes' – the craftsmen at the centre of the agitation were not poor. They included the hammermen who, like those in many other burghs, were one of Perth's most prosperous trades.²³ In disputes such as this, craftsmen sought the political privilege they believed was concomitant to their social and economic standing. Merchants and craftsmen also clashed in Stirling. This was associated with the burgh's punishment by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1609 for the repeated election as Provost of the non-burgess John Murray.²⁴ Under the close supervision of the Convention, subsequent elections to the burgh council excluded craftsmen, sparking a short period of acrimony in the town.²⁵ The hammermen certainly participated, with the incorporation passing a resolution demonstrating solidarity with their deacon in the 'actione perswt be the crafts against the merchants'.²⁶ This was settled with a number of concessions made on either side, initially in 1615 when the crafts were permitted four councillors, though their representation was extended to all seven deacons in 1620.²⁷ Even though the political authority of the crafts was occasionally contested, it was evident nonetheless and was derived from the incorporations' prominent place in urban society across the early modern period. This would only end in the nineteenth century, following the wide-ranging changes in municipal government wrought by the reform acts of 1832, 1833 and 1846. Thereafter, craft incorporations took on roles similar to those of friendly societies and employers' associations.²⁸

In the early modern period, however, clear social hierarchies were a common feature of urban society in Scotland and elsewhere in Europe. These urban hierarchies have been described as characterising the system of 'corporatism' but they could also be regarded in terms of the *ancien regime*, in which society was made up of ranks of privileged estates. This was exemplified by the noble,

23 Mary Verschuur, 'Merchants and Craftsmen in Sixteenth-Century Perth', in Michael Lynch (ed.), *The Early Modern Town in Scotland* (London, 1987), pp. 36–44.

24 Harold Whitbread, *The Guildry of Stirling* (Stirling, 1966), p. 165; *Extracts from the records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1597–1614*, (ed.) James David Marwick (Edinburgh, 1870), 4 July 1609, p. 275.

25 Duncan McNaughton, *A History of Old Stirling* (Stirling, 1980), pp. 58–9; Ex-Bailie Ronald, 'The Crafts of Stirling', *Transactions of the Natural History and Archaeological Society of Stirling*, 24 (1901–02): pp. 62–3.

26 StirCA, PD7/8/2a, Stirling Hammermen Records, Minute Book, 23 January 1610.

27 McNaughton, *Old Stirling*, p. 59.

28 Ronald, 'The Crafts of Stirling', p. 82; Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700–2007* (London, 2006), p. 273; Irene Maver, 'The Rise and Fall of the Scottish Provost: Civic Leadership and Burgh Identity between the Seventeenth and Twenty-first Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 20 (2008): p. 87; Annette M. Smith, *The Guildry of Dundee: A History of the Merchant Guild of Dundee up to the 19th Century* (Dundee, 2005), p. 146; Farr, *Artisans*, pp. 279–82; Hamish W. Fraser, *Conflict and Class: Scottish Workers, 1700–1838* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 169.

ecclesiastical and burgh estates that constituted the Scottish Parliament and was replicated within burgh society through the divisions between the freemen of the merchant and craft organisations, and the socially inferior unfreemen.²⁹ Merchants were typically regarded as superior to artisans, with the seventeenth-century jurist, Loyseau, describing merchants as the 'lowest of the people enjoying honourable status', with craftsmen classified simply as 'commoners'.³⁰ In French towns, for example, there were three classes of inhabitants: the *bourgeois*, *les communs* – from whom came the craft organisations – and *les vulgaires*, who included labourers and non-organised workers. Likewise, in the same way that Scottish burghs had unfreemen existing outwith the corporate system, France had *gens sans qualité*: people of no status.³¹ The corporate approach was embedded both in a hierarchical social structure and in an attitude that believed work, manufacturing and trade should be conducted in the interests of a *common weal*. It was this attitude that lay partly behind the craft incorporations' approach to quality control.³² In all of these different circumstances within the Scottish burgh – in their responsibility for the standards of work, their monitoring of the morality and religiosity of their masters and apprentices, and in their commercial and political activities – the craft incorporations possessed authority, power and a certain amount of social capital. That is to say, in terms of a theoretical framework outlined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, amongst others, the craft incorporations – as privileged and well-connected organisational components of the structural and conceptual ideas underpinning the early modern burgh – benefited from:

the aggregate of the resources, actual or potential, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.³³

This reinforced the authority and status of the craft incorporations as a supportive, exclusive and institutionalised network of artisans within the economic,

29 Farr, *Artisans*, p. 25; Jacqueline Hill, 'Corporate values in Hanoverian Edinburgh and Dublin', in S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland 1600–1939* (Preston, 1995), pp. 116–18; Steven L. Kaplan, 'Social Classification and Representation in the Corporate World of Eighteenth-Century France: "Turgot's Carnival"', in Kaplan and Cynthia Koepp (eds), *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization and Practice* (Ithaca, 1986), pp. 176–228.

30 Loyseau, *Traité des Ordres* (1613), quoted in Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London, 2000), pp. 97–8.

31 Farr, *Artisans*, pp. 21–33.

32 Kamen, *European Society*, p. 14; Farr, *Artisans*, pp. 21–3.

33 Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', pp. 248–9; Pierre Bourdieu and J.D. Loic Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago, 1992), p. 119.

political and social life of the burgh. In other words, the craft incorporations plugged their members into, and provided them with, a network of useful connections. As a result, senior members of the craft were located above not only the journeymen and apprentices of their own trade but also above those unfree residents of the burgh and surrounding area who were outwith the commercially, socially, culturally and spiritually fraternal umbrella of the incorporation. As such, the authority of the craft incorporations, together with that of the merchant guilds, pervaded burgh life. This notion also chimes with the work of the historian Sheilagh Ogilvie, who has applied theories of social capital in an effort to better understand early modern European merchant guilds. For Ogilvie, the networks and social capital of the merchant guilds were partly created by their ability to enforce 'shared norms' amongst their members, including through the punishment of those who challenged those norms.³⁴ The Stirling hammermen's punishment of Peter Gib for failing to behave in a suitably fraternal manner was demonstrative of the need to ensure that the 'norm' of the craft's authority was accepted, as, indeed, were the initiation rituals undertaken by new members.

Edinburgh Stone Panel Study

Ogilvie maintains that merchant guilds were primarily organisations formed in defence of economic privilege and believes that any wider cultural or social identity fostered by membership was a secondary consideration. Thus, the demarcation between freemen and unfreemen was largely an economic one based on the exclusivity of the merchant guilds' social capital, or network.³⁵ To be sure, Scottish craft incorporations were similarly economic organisations first and social fraternities second. The two spheres, however, were by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed, social capital is more easily created amongst a network of people who interact in different walks of life, including in commercial, social and cultural activities.³⁶ More widely, the craft incorporations had a number of 'resources' at their disposal in order to maintain their commercial and social positions within urban society. These were tied to the processes through which they affirmed and reproduced their authority and status. In one sense, they were financially active organisations which possessed money and property, or economic capital; for instance, in the buildings in which the crafts met. The incorporations were likewise rooted in the political structures of the burgh and, as a result, were in a position to protect their members' interests in ways that unincorporated crafts and other unfree residents were unable to do. Yet the crafts' resources were also of a more symbolic

34 Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000–1800* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 7.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 8–13 and pp. 432–3.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

nature. When describing the ways in which social capital is maintained and protected, Bourdieu talks about the 'alchemy of consecration', or the 'symbolic constitution produced by social institution', through which social relationships and hierarchies are reproduced by a 'continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed'. Also important is the idea of 'cultural capital', through which status is maintained and communicated by the consumption of cultural output and knowledge and by the objectification and possession of items such as artwork, material objects and writing. Underlying the status provided by the possession of social networks and cultural objects is 'symbolic capital', or the legitimisation and solidification of an individual's position as part of a societal elite. Symbolic capital is the rate of exchange between the different forms of capital and the social status that they provide, and is a concept that has also informed James Farr's cultural analysis of 'artisanal identity'.³⁷ Similarly, John Rule has demonstrated that an artisan's perception of his possession of 'skill' – in contradistinction to so-called 'unskilled' and unfree workers – was a form of property and thus 'represented a symbolic capital, an "honour", the possession of which entitled its holder to dignity and respect'.³⁸

The application of these theories in relation to the Scottish craft incorporations is best demonstrated by examining evidence from their legacy in material culture. The artefactual record provides striking evidence for the strength of an artisanal identity and demonstrates the deliberately visual ways in which it was projected. Consider the stone panel in Figure 14.1.

The stone panel is currently on display in the National Museum of Scotland. It came into the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1937 and is described by Walter Dickson in the society's *Proceedings*.³⁹ The panel is grey sandstone and measures 22 inches by 18 inches. It is decorated by the hammer and closed imperial crown emblem of the metalworking hammermen incorporations. The emblem is surrounded by drapes, with a

37 Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', pp. 246–50; Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London, 1992), p. 53; Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, *Reflexive Sociology*, p. 119; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, 1984), p. 191; Farr, 'Cultural Analysis and Early Modern Artisans', in Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town 1500–1900* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 58–60.

38 John Rule, 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture', in Patrick Joyce (ed.), *The Historical Meanings of Work* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 108. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter have also considered the meaning of power, authority and status in early modern society and have described the notion of a 'power grid'. An individual's position on that grid 'was determined by the extent to which they were able to locate themselves on a number of hierarchies and the degree to which their ranking within those separate hierarchies was mutually reinforcing'. See Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 'Introduction: Grids of Power: order, hierarchy and subordination in early modern society', in Braddick and Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 39.

39 National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, H.KG 117, heraldic panel showing the Hammermen's Arms; Walter Dickson, 'Heraldic Panel of Grey Sandstone', *PSAS*, 72 (1937–38), p. 11.



Figure 14.1 Heraldic panel showing the Hammermen's Arms, from Old Hammermen's Hall, Edinburgh, 1686 (National Museums Scotland). See plate section

cherub's head directly above. The date '1686' is carved on either side of the cherub's head, while the letters 'GM' and 'IA' are inscribed on either side of the hammermen emblem. According to Dickson, the object is believed to have come from a property named 'Old Hammermen's Hall' at 190 High Street in Edinburgh, at the bottom of Old Fishmarket Close. Though 190 High Street and Old Fishmarket Close are easily found on a modern map, these locations do not necessarily refer to the same geographical region as they did in 1686. Therefore, it is not entirely clear where the property at 190 High Street was or what became of it. Yet Gordon of Rothiemay's 1647 map of Edinburgh does show a Fishmarket Wynd running from the High Street towards the Fishmarket and

Cowgate. A number of hammermen had their properties nearby, especially along the Cowgate.⁴⁰

The inscription clearly dates the object to the 1680s, while the hammer and crown emblem – and the location of the property from where the panel was taken – immediately associates it with Edinburgh and the burgh's incorporation of hammermen. The hammer, meanwhile, as the emblem of St Eloi – the patron saint of metalworkers – had a clear symbolic significance to the hammermen. The crown is less easy to account for and, indeed, is not displayed on the Edinburgh hammermen's seal of 1519.⁴¹ It is probably best regarded as a status symbol of a particularly significant craft incorporation. The crown may also denote the privileges and monopolies granted to the craft by the local authorities and, by extension, the crown. More research is required to establish the precise origins of the Scottish hammermen's emblem, especially as other craft incorporations – with the exception of the cordiners – generally did not use the crown symbol. The hammermen's self-importance was further reflected in the craft's motto: 'by hammer in hand all arts do stand'.⁴²

40 Aaron M. Allen, 'Occupational Mapping of 1635 Edinburgh: an introduction', *PSAS*, 136 (2006): p. 287.

41 Alison Jones, *Saints* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 103; John Smith, *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their altar in St Giles Church: being extracts from the records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh 1494 to 1558* (Edinburgh, 1906), p. lxxiii.

42 Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, p. 6.

The explanation provided by Dickson that the panel came from 'Old Hammermen's Hall' implies that it may have come from a property owned by the incorporation and used for official purposes. Yet, as the Edinburgh hammermen met in the Magdalen Chapel in Cowgate, opposite Greyfriars and not in a hall at 190 High Street, this is unlikely.⁴³ Indeed, it is doubtful that the stone panel came from a building that was formally owned by the incorporation or one directly linked to the craft's functions. Instead, it is most likely that the letters 'GM' and 'IA' refer to a married couple, one of whom had links to the hammermen, and that the stone adorned the front of their home, perhaps over the doorway. In this context, the cherub's head takes on a sentimental meaning, representing the strength of the married couple's relationship, just as a cherub on early modern gravestones symbolised the winged soul and was an 'emblem of immortality'.⁴⁴ The written record confirms that 'GM' refers to the locksmith George Mitchell, who married Jean Abernethie in 1675, and who became deacon of the hammermen in 1684.⁴⁵ This discounts two possible explanations for the numerical inscription on the panel, so the date most likely refers to the year in which the property was built or, perhaps, simply to when the stone panel was incorporated into the building. Mitchell was wealthy enough to have become a member of the merchant guild in 1684 and was thus a member of the craft aristocracy. As such, he was less a craftsman and more a craft employer.⁴⁶ Likewise, Jean Abernethie – whose father was a pewterer – was part of a locally prominent metalworking family, so it is clear that the stone panel was a status symbol belonging to two relatively wealthy members of the

43 Smith, *Hammermen of Edinburgh*, p. lxxvi. The craft moved into the Magdalen Chapel in the 1540s, having previously been located in buildings belonging to the Dominican monastery in the Blackfriars. See E.P. Dennison et al., *Painting the Town: Scottish Urban History in Art* (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 174. Indeed, the possibility arises that '190 High Street' pertains to land previously associated with the monastery (which was destroyed in 1559) and thus also associated with the hammermen. The location of the monastery, however, is some distance from the likely location as described by Walter Dickson. See Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 'Edinburgh, Blackfriars' Dominican Monastery', Site Number NT27SE 51, <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/52514/details/edinburgh+blackfriars+dominican+monastery/> [accessed 12 May 2015].

44 Betty Willsher, *Understanding Scottish Graveyards* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 42.

45 ECA, ED8/1/4, Records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh, Minute Book, 'Names of the friemen of the incorporation of the Hammermen of Edinburgh', 17 January 1693; *Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh 1595–1700*, (ed.) Henry Paton (Edinburgh, 1905); *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren 1406–1841*, (ed.) Charles B.B. Watson (Edinburgh, 1930). A study of the 1634–36 Edinburgh Housemails Tax confirms that the only property owned by the hammermen was that connected with the Magdalen Chapel. The tax rolls offer limited assistance in locating property connected with George Mitchell, though there was a George Mitchell listed as a tenant in the burgh's South Quarter. There is also a 'George Mitchelsone' listed as a tenant at a property on the High Street, just west of Marlin's Wynd. This is near the area where the stone panel is believed to have come from, but, given the time span involved and in the absence of additional evidence, it is difficult to draw any conclusions. See *Edinburgh Housemails Taxation Book, 1634–1636*, (ed.) Aaron Allen and Cathryn Spence (Aberdeen, 2014), pp. 341, 531, 560.

46 *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*; Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 17.

burgh elite.⁴⁷ To commission a piece of stonework of this sort would have been an expensive undertaking, while the visual displays of rank on the outside of buildings and dwellings had precedent, including on the doorways of some rural homes in Scotland.⁴⁸ It is likely, meanwhile, that the name 'Old Hammermen's Hall' originated in the colloquial identification of the building with its metalworking occupant who, as deacon, may have occasionally met there with other members of the craft.⁴⁹

The stone panel is best considered as a symbol, or a projection, of the authority of the craft incorporations and of the corporate system as a whole. It is an example of conspicuous consumption on the part of George Mitchell and his wife, and gives visual expression to the hierarchical social order that existed in burgh society.⁵⁰ It was a resource used to help maintain that social order and articulated a world view that set craftsmen apart from 'unskilled' workers, and freemen from unfreemen.⁵¹ The elaborately decorated ceremonial chairs used during meetings by the deacons of some craft incorporations, meanwhile, were examples of the ways in which this authority could be communicated to those within the craft.⁵² Like the stone panel, they were not only products of an artisanal identity; they were also its guardians. In turn, artisanal identity helped communicate, safeguard and contribute to, the crafts' authority, social status and exclusive commercial privileges. In other words, these material objects were the result of an accumulation of, and the interplay between, social, cultural and economic capital. They represented the elite network made accessible by membership of an incorporation and provide evidence of the financial means to pay for the objectification and possession of cultural output. This contributed to the process of affirmation, reproduction and transmission of social status. As a result, and similar to Rule's concept of 'skill', material objects – adorned with the recognisable emblems of the trade – helped provide, and are examples of, the craft incorporations and their members'

47 *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*.

48 Charles McKean, 'Improvement and Modernisation in Everyday Enlightenment Scotland', in Foyster and Whatley (eds), *Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600–1800*, p. 54.

49 Thanks to Dr Aaron Allen for this suggestion.

50 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (London, 1912), pp. 68–101. Similarly, today, the conspicuous consumption of such material goods such as expensive cars is used by people of high status to 'encapsulate their personal power'. See Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, 'Why We Need Things', in Steven D. Lubar and David W. Kinger (eds), *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, 1993), pp. 23–4. Braddick also utilises some of Bourdieu's theories, specifically the concept of 'state magic' which he relates to the importance of individuals' abilities to use 'legitimizing texts': in other words, the maintenance of authority by social elites through their perceived ability to control and interpret the language of governance, which 'gave formal sanction to their actions'. See Braddick, 'Administrative Performance: the Representation of Political Authority in Early Modern England', in Braddick and Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society*, pp. 166–87, at pp. 176–7, 185.

51 Farr, 'Cultural Analysis', p. 65; Kaplan, 'Social Classification', pp. 182–3.

52 Stephen Jackson, 'Trade incorporation ceremonial chairs', *PSAS*, 127 (1997): pp. 945–56.

'respectability and honourability'; that is to say, their symbolic capital.⁵³ In these ways, status and a sense of artisanal identity were not simply acquired by membership of an incorporation but were also manufactured – in stone and in theory – in efforts to protect and project the idea of a correctly demarcated economic and social structure. To what extent this system was successfully safeguarded remains to be seen.

Encroachments in Stirling: Projection in Defence of Privilege

When, in 1592, the Scottish Parliament passed an act '*aganis sic as exercesis craftis in suburbis adjacent to burrowis*', it was simultaneously articulating its support for the theoretical conception of early modern urban life, while also demonstrating that this conception was contested. One of the aims of the 1592 legislation was to protect the incorporated burgh craftsmen from the competition of 'unfree' traders in nearby settlements.⁵⁴ Scottish burgh craftsmen were certainly concerned about their counterparts in the surrounding countryside selling products either in the burgh itself or within its liberties. For instance, in the 1630s, the Stirling hammermen required a number of metalworkers from Bannockburn, Larbert, St Ninians and other 'landwart' areas 'about the burgh of Sterling' to promise to pay 8s, 8d. to the incorporation before they were permitted to sell items at market.⁵⁵ The issue was also discussed at a warden court held at Stirling Castle with the king's Master of Works, Sir Anthony Alexander. The hammermen incorporation was keen that the proceedings would not be 'onywayes hurtfull' to their privileges and it was agreed that the incorporation should authorise the inspection of the country craftsmen's work.⁵⁶

The evidence shows that burghs and craft incorporations were required to show flexibility in the face of competition from unfreemen. The reality of seventeenth-century burgh commerce was not as rigid as the theory and there were a number of instances of rules being relaxed. For example, from the 1680s, non-burgess merchants in Stirling were permitted to trade, provided they made a small payment to the burgh authorities.⁵⁷ Meanwhile in Glasgow – a burgh

53 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 191.

54 Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, 1592/4/98, (ed.) Keith M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007–13) [accessed 25 August 2011]; Aaron M. Allen, 'Conquering the Suburbs: Politics and Work in Early Modern Edinburgh', *Journal of Urban History*, 37/3 (2011): p. 430.

55 StirCA, A1142, Stirling Hammermen Records, 'The Country Smiths and Their Obligation to the Hammermen in Stirling made in 1637', translated 1743, Box 11, Bundle 3.

56 StirCA, A1142, Stirling Hammermen Records, 'Extract act of the wardane court', 27 April 1637, Box 5, Bundle 3.

57 Thomas M. Devine, 'The Scottish Merchant Community, 1680–1740', in Roy H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (eds), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 29. In her study of medieval York, Swanson has also argued for a more nuanced approach to the study of town regulations, stating that official craft and merchant records 'contain a great deal of wishful thinking'. See Swanson, 'Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', p. 47.

reputed to have started operating on a relatively more open basis earlier than elsewhere – the weavers incorporation came to an agreement with the unfree weavers of Gorbals in 1657. This permitted those in Gorbals to undertake work in the suburbs and provided them with a level of devolved authority and responsibility, though this was still overseen by the Glasgow incorporation. Like the compromise between the Stirlingshire metalworkers, this suggests that the 1592 act of Parliament was not strictly applied.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, though burgess-ship and membership of the merchant guild continued to signify social status, they became decreasingly important as prerequisites for trading. In Aberdeen and Dundee, for instance, by the 1700s it was no longer common practice to fine traders who had not joined the merchant guild. Moreover, given the cost involved in becoming a guild brother, and bearing in mind that some merchants were simply small shopkeepers, it seems likely that not every merchant joined the guildry, even if he strictly speaking should have. Nor was this a seventeenth-century change, as in 1560s Edinburgh the majority of merchants were not guild members. What distinguished members from non-members was their entitlement to conduct foreign trade, while simple burgesses had the right to trade only on a small scale.⁵⁹ In these ways, allowances and alterations could be made to accommodate different types of commercial activity conducted by a variety of people throughout the early modern period. This would support the notion that the status of craft organisations did not simply rest on their restrictive commercial privileges or on a social capital narrowly defined on the basis of its perceived economic benefits.

Nevertheless, craft and merchant monopolies did not fall entirely by the wayside in the early modern period. It is an inconsistent picture and, while the 1592 legislation may not always have been followed, there were occasions when burgesses were less willing to compromise. In 1682, for example, Stirling burgh council felt it necessary to clarify that residents should not buy from unfree craftsmen.⁶⁰ Business was still conducted within the framework of restrictive privilege and the minute books of the craft incorporations throughout the 1600s demonstrate that their members were indeed concerned about the dangers posed by illegal competition from unfreemen. Even in the 1720s, an unfreeman in Stirling caused great consternation amongst the hammermen by ‘selling and retailing all sorts of hardware that is made within the privilege of the trade’.⁶¹

Problems were also encountered between different craft incorporations. In Stirling in the 1660s, there was a dispute between the hammermen and the

58 Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 200–201; Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, p. 64; Michael Lynch, ‘Whatever Happened to the Medieval Burgh? Some Guidelines for Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Historians’, *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 4 (1984): p. 13.

59 Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 198; Lynch, *Edinburgh*, p. 53; Thomas M. Devine, ‘The Merchant Class of the Larger Scottish Towns in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’, in George Gordon and Brian Dicks (eds), *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen, 1983), p. 98.

60 Whitbread, *The Guildry of Stirling*, p. 173.

61 StirCA, A1142, Stirling Hammermen Records, loose piece of paper, 6 December 1729, Box 5, Bundle 1.

shoemakers, with the Stirling metalworkers having sought clarification from their Edinburgh counterparts that shoemakers cannot 'meddle or make' items 'prejudicial to the Hammermen'. Indeed, it was not always clear which craft had responsibility for the manufacturing of a product. The burgh council had to intervene in another dispute in 1630, with a belt maker in Dunblane ordered to join the hammermen, as was the convention for 'saidlers and uther belt-makeris in uther burrowis'.⁶² There were also disagreements in Stirling surrounding the remits of merchants and craftsmen. As discussed already, clashes between the two groups of burgesses in Stirling were partly linked to the political incongruities for which the burgh was censured by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1609. However, the dispute also resulted in a written agreement in 1616 between the merchants and craftsmen regarding their respective trading rights. The act clarified that craftsmen could not sell buttons, 'foran clayth of all soirtis . . . nor na uther stapill waris', while the merchants could not sell items otherwise manufactured by the burgh's craftsmen.⁶³ Though such a demarcation of trading rights seems implicit in the corporate structure, this agreement demonstrates that there had hitherto been some confusion. Indeed, in 1612, the trades had written to the Dean of Guild and the Convention of Royal Burghs seeking clarification of the trading privileges of non-guild members, particularly in relation to the sale of items like butter, cloth and plaid.⁶⁴ The 1616 agreement was still being referred to in 1755, with the hammermen again concerned about the encroachment of merchants. Perhaps harbingering the end of small artisanal manufacturing, the merchants in turn argued that the public was ill-served by traders who 'do not keep . . . articles ready made for sale, but only make them after they are bespoke'.⁶⁵ These examples from Stirling demonstrate that the authority of the craft incorporations was challenged from a variety of quarters, including from town and suburban unfreemen, and from the merchant guild. These disputes were both political and commercial, with merchants and craftsmen encroaching on each other's monopolies.⁶⁶ As a result, projections of the authority of the craft incorporations – like George Mitchell's stone panel – were not merely luxuries but were important reminders of theoretical status and privilege.

62 Lumsden and Aitken, *Hammermen of Glasgow*, pp. 56–7; StirCA, A1142, Stirling Hammermen Records, Information from the Hammermen of Edinburgh to the Hammermen of Stirling, 17 January 1667; *Extracts from the records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling AD 1519–1666*, (ed.) R. Renwick (Glasgow, 1887), 3 May 1630, pp. 164–5. There were also issues with demarcation in medieval York: Swanson, 'Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', pp. 41–2.

63 *Records of the Burgh of Stirling*, 4 November 1616, pp. 141–5; McNaughton, *Old Stirling*, p. 59.

64 StirCA, PD 7/4/4, Records of the Seven Incorporated Trades of Stirling, 'Bill desiring an interpretation of the privileges of a freeman who is not a member of the merchant guildry', 12 September 1612; PD7/4/5, Seven Trades Records, Petition to the Convention of Royal Burghs, 7 July 1613.

65 StirCA, A1142, Stirling Hammermen Records, 'Memorial for the Incorporation of Hammermen', 5 April 1755, Box 6.

66 See Falconer, *Crime and Community*, pp. 127–48, for a consideration of the disputes over 'authority' between merchants and craftsmen in Aberdeen.

Conclusion

In response to the encroachments on their privileges and the challenges to their authority, the craft incorporations were required to show a certain level of pragmatism. This accounts for the agreements that existed between the various competing interests in Glasgow and Stirling; for example, the Stirling hammermen and the country smiths. Yet the theoretical burgh structure was not abandoned wholesale. The disputes, agreements and disagreements show that Scottish burgh craftsmen were attempting to reconcile social and commercial realities with what they regarded as their rightful status and authority within burgh society. Social thought remained interested in a hierarchical structure and, in this context, divided people between the free and the unfree. The crafts remained jealous of their privileges and sought ways of safeguarding them. This was partly achieved via the artisanal identity so clearly evident amongst Scottish craft burgesses. Examples from material culture have demonstrated the pride felt by Scottish metalworkers as a result of their membership of an incorporation. Yet this pride was not experienced only in relation to a craftsman's work and profession and was as much about the social status afforded by this work. It is for these reasons that George Mitchell's stone panel – as an example of conspicuous consumption and an articulation of the symbolic capital inherent to artisanal identity – is best regarded as both a guardian and a projection of the authority of the craft incorporations in the early modern Scottish burgh.

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